

Journal of the
CEYLON BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND
MEDIEVAL CEYLON

(New Series, Volume VI, Special Number)

by

C. W. NICHOLAS

*The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the
History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences and
Social Conditions of the present and former inhabitants
of the Island of Ceylon, and connected cultures*

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R. L. Brohier O.B.E.
President

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*Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch),
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Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon

By C. W. NICHOLAS

Introduction

THE period covered by this compilation is from the earliest times to the end of the 13th century, at which time the medieval Sinhalese kingdom was falling into ruin. The succession disputes, beginning with the death of Parakkamabāhu I in 1186 and ending with the pillage and persecution during the reign of the last Kālinga, Māgha (1214—1235), preceded the collapse. The Javanese, Śrī Dhammarāja of Ligor, whom the *Cūlavamsa* calls Candabhānu, and the Pāṇḍyans made invasions of Ceylon in 1245, 1264, 1268 and 1280. A great famine occurred about 1283 and was followed by the Pāṇḍyan conquest: for 20 years thereafter Ceylon formed part of the Pāṇḍyan Empire. The ancient irrigation system had already broken down, and Codrington has suggested that the famine probably coincided with the first appearance of malaria which, for over six and a half centuries afterwards, became the scourge of the dry zone. The north-western, northern, north-eastern and maritime eastern parts of the Island passed permanently out of Sinhalese hands to the Tamils.

The topographical material is arranged regionally and follows the modern territorial scheme of revenue districts except in the case of the lower course of the *Mahavāli Ganga*, which, between Mahiyān-gaṇa and the sea, constitutes the boundary of six different districts. This arrangement makes a full Index indispensable, and one has been provided.

Much of the topographical material in the unpublished Brāhmī inscriptions has been included, but not that in the unpublished medieval inscriptions of the 8th to the 13th centuries.

The situations of ancient and modern places are described in the text in sufficient detail to enable them to be located with accuracy on the one mile to an inch topographical sheets and approximately on the Motor Map of Ceylon.

In the Pāli works, the ancient Sinhalese place-names were translated into Pāli, sometimes literally, sometimes freely and variantly to meet the needs of the metre, and sometimes pedantically. The following examples may be quoted:—Acchagalla for Sinhalese Valasgala, Doṇivagga for Sinhalese Deṇavaka, Pattapāsāṇa for

Sinhalese *Patpāṇa*, Tintinikagāma for Sinhalese *Siyambalāgama*; *Hiraññamalaya* and *Suvaṇṇamalaya* for Sinhalese *Raṇmalakanda*, *Nālisobbha* and *Nālikeravatthu* for Sinhalese *Polvatta*, *Dhūmarakkhapabbata* and *Udumbarapabbata* for Sinhalese *Dumbulāgala*; *Maṇimekhala* for Sinhalese *Minibe*, *Nadībhaṇḍagāma* for Sinhalese *Ōbaḍa*, *Gaṅgāsiripura* for Sinhalese *Gaṇṇapaḷa*, and *Jambukolalena* for Sinhalese *Dambululeṇa*. Codrington has pointed out that the Pāli terminations -*thalī*, -*sobbha* and -*rukkha* stand for Sinhalese -*goḍa*, -*vatta* and -*rakē* respectively.

Ancient Pali and Sinhalese names are printed in ordinary type in the text and the Index. Modern place names are printed in the Text in *italics*.

CHAPTER I

CEYLON

(A). Position, Physical Features and Climate

The position of the Island of Ceylon (*Laṅkā*) in the Indian Ocean lies between the parallels of 5°55' and 9°51' north latitude and the meridians of 79°43' and 81°53' east longitude. The Island is pear-shaped, 271 miles from north to south and 140 miles from east to west, and its area is 25,332 square miles. The southernmost part of the peninsula of the Indian mainland is separated from Ceylon by the shallow *Gulf of Mannār* and the shoals and sandbanks of *Adam's Bridge*, the intervening sea being only 20 miles wide at the narrowest point. The severance of Ceylon from the Indian continent took place in geologically recent times: and some memory of the inundation of the former land-bridge (roughly, the area between the two 5-fathom bathymetrical contours to north and south of *Mannār Island*) appears to be preserved in some of the legends about events of very early times. The tiger supplanted the Indian lion in the Vedic age, for the *Rigveda* mentions the lion but not the tiger: when the tiger moved down into South India, the land connection with Ceylon no longer existed.

The coast of Ceylon, except on the south-west, is indented by many lagoons, most of which are now quite shallow. Numerous large and small bays and roadsteads served as anchorages for the sailing vessels of ancient and medieval times. The south, south-west and west coasts are exposed to the fury of the south-west monsoon (May to October) and the only sizeable and comparatively safe ports in this area were *Galle* and *Co'ombo*: but the evidence points to the area between *Kalutara* and *Galle* as having been very sparsely populated prior to the 18th century. On the north-eastern coast, the Bay of *Trincomalee*, ancient *Gokaṇṇa*, is one of the largest and finest natural harbours in the world. The main concentration of shipping in ancient times was in the sheltered ports of the *Mannār* district and the *Jaffna* peninsula, facing the shallow, north-western seas.

The extensive and lofty montane zone of Ceylon is its south-central region. It rises in two successive peneplains from the lowlands which surround it on all sides and terminates in the highest mountain, *Pidurutalāgala*, at 8,292 feet. It is a cool and healthy region, well provided with perennial rivers and streams which descend in waterfalls and rapids: its natural vegetation is luxuriant and the scenery is exceedingly beautiful. The average annual rainfall is 80 to 125 inches, rising to 140 to 200 inches in the upper valley of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, around *Ramboḍa* and the *Knuckles*, and falling away to 65 to 100 inches in the mountains of *Ūva* and the more easterly hills,

which form a drier sub-zone. By the end of the 1st century B.C. the lower montane valley of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* valley around *Kandy*, *Teldeniya* and *Gampola*, the lesser hills to north-west of *Badulla*, and the northern and western slopes of the *Mātālē* hills were populated. The routes of these early settlers in the mountain valleys at elevations of 1,000 to 2,000 feet are marked by an ascending series of contemporary inscriptions at the sites of the temples which they founded. Above about 2,500 feet the montane zone was largely unpopulated till the 9th or 10th century. The Lowcountry, which surrounds the montane or Upcountry zone, is divided into two sharply separated zones, the Lowcountry wet zone and the Lowcountry dry zone, the one very different from the other in climate and vegetation.

The Lowcountry wet zone extends over the western, south-western and southern lowlands (the *Chilaw*, *Colombo*, *Kalutara*, *Galle*, *Mātara*, *Kāgalla* and *Ratnapura* districts principally) and receives the rains of the south-west (May to October) monsoon as well as of the north-east (November to April) monsoon, the average annual deposition being 85 to 125 inches, rising to 130 to 200 inches in the *Ratnapura* and *Kalutara* districts, parts of the *Kāgalla* and *Galle* districts, and the lower valley of the *Kālani Gaṅga*. The rivers are perennial, broad and deep, and cause annual floods. There is no need to store water for irrigation because there is no lack of it in any season occasional droughts cause no appreciable distress. The vegetation is very dense and luxuriant, and wild growths have to be kept in check to prevent them from invading gardens and cultivated lands. The land is flat near the coast and rises gradually, though frequently broken by ranges of hills and rock outcrops, to the foothills of the montane zone. The *Chilaw*, *Colombo* and *Kāgalla* districts were populated in pre-Christian times, as numerous inscriptions attest, but the greater part of the Lowcountry wet zone was in forest: it was not, and is not, owing to its much smaller extent of flat land, as suitable an area as the dry zone for the cultivation of rice.

The Lowcountry dry zone, which comprises the north-western, northern, north-eastern, north-central, eastern and south-eastern parts of Ceylon and forms about 70 per cent of the total land area, is historically the most important region in Ceylon because it was the cradle of the Sinhalese civilisation. It receives the rains only of the north-east monsoon, while during the south-west monsoon it suffers an annual drought from May to September. If the north-east monsoon rains fail, as they sometimes do, severe distress can follow because its agricultural economy is dependent upon normal rainfall in the rainy season. Severe drought can alternate with heavy floods. The annual rainfall averages 50 to 75 inches, decreasing to 35 to 45 inches in two arid sub-zones, the *Mannār* district in the north-west and the *Hambantota* district in the south-east. During the annual drought the temperature rises, the grass turns to stubble and the vegetation

becomes parched, the smaller tanks shrink to muddy pools, the streams and watercourses run dry, and the larger rivers, except the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and the *Valavē Gaṅga*, are reduced to trickles or break up into disconnected pools. The land is not uniformly flat; numerous rock outcrops and several ranges of hills exceeding 1,000 feet in height intersect the level ground. Full advantage was taken by the ancient Sinhalese of the differences in contour to close gaps between ridges and create large and small reservoirs, and to dam rivers at higher levels and divert their waters along artificial canals to irrigate the rice fields: irrigation engineering was one of the greatest skills possessed by the ancient people and they constructed a vast and intricate system of interrelated dams, canals and tanks, often mingling the waters of rivers flowing in different directions. At the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., if not earlier, population had spread over the entire dry zone and the construction of tanks and canals had begun.

In the presently Tamil areas of the north and east, many place-names have assumed Tamil forms in which the original Sinhalese element is recognisable; but Codrington states that 'this is not the case in the country behind Mannār: there these names are purely Tamil'. Throughout the Sinhalese districts of the north-western and north-central regions the great majority of the ancient Sinhalese place-names has been lost, and it has been suggested that the present population is not descended from the original Sinhalese inhabitants. These were regions subject to invasion and conquest, and with the downfall of the Sinhalese kingdom and the ruin of the irrigation system, followed soon afterwards, very probably, by the advent of malaria, heavy migrations of population into the hills and the wet zone would have taken place. In Rohana and Malaya, many ancient place-names have survived in original or modified form: in some of these cases, the modern name of a hamlet or even a land is the survivor of an ancient village name.

(B). Literary References, Mainly External

The Ceylon Chronicles begin the history of Ceylon in the lifetime of the Buddha, that is, in the 6th century B.C. according to Sinhalese chronology. They state that the Island was then known as *Laṅkādīpa*, but it acquired the additional name *Tambapaṇṇi* (Taprobane of the Greeks and Romans) because the hands of the wearied Indo-Aryan immigrants who first landed in Ceylon were coloured by the copper-coloured earth when they threw themselves down at their landing-place: and it acquired, also, a third name, *Sīhaladīpa* (Salike of Ptolemy, Serendivi and Serendib of the Arabs), because the leader of the first immigrants and his followers were of the *Sihala* clan.

The earliest reference to Ceylon in Indian literature is in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in which it is referred to as *Pārasamudra*, 'the land beyond the Ocean', (the forerunner of *Palaesimoundu* and *Simondou* of some

of the Greek writers). In Greek literature of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., accounts appeared in the writings of Onesicritus, the chief pilot of Alexander the Great, Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the Indian court of Chandragupta, and Eratosthenes, the first of the geographers, about what they had heard concerning Taprobane. These accounts, since they were not based upon personal knowledge, were, as is to be expected, partly fabulous: but in this respect they were not unique, because fanciful notions about the Island and its people persisted up to the 2nd century, even after Greek and Roman merchants and mariners had long been trading in its ports. Onesicritus, the earliest European writer, would have gathered his information about Ceylon from the sea-faring men in the Indus delta, and it is evident that the Island of Tambapanni had a repute among the people of that region which it could not have acquired unless sea communication between the Indus delta and Ceylon had been established well before the time of Onesicritus' journey down the Indus (B.C. 325). To this sea-route can be traced, upon other grounds as well, the beginning of the Indo-Aryan colonisation of Ceylon, these first immigrants being natives of North-western India. Knowledge of Ceylon in the Mauryan Empire of the Ganges Valley in North-eastern India existed, as Megasthenes' account shows, in the reign of Chandragupta (circa B.C. 321—297): communication by sea between the two countries had definitely been established, according to the historical evidence, by the time of Asoka (circa B.C. 274—237), the point of departure from and arrival at the mouth of the Ganges being Tāmalitti, modern Tāmluk. In the inscriptions of Asoka reference is made to Tāmraparnī (Ceylon), along with the South Indian kingdoms of Chōḍa (Cōḷa), Pāṇḍya and Keralaputra (Keraḷa), as lying outside the limits of the Mauryan Empire. It is fairly certain that other streams of Indo-Aryan immigration into Ceylon from North-eastern India followed those which came earlier from North-western India.

These sea-routes to Ceylon from the deltas of the Indus and the Ganges doubtless hugged the coast of the Indian peninsula, and the first Indo-Aryan adventurers who reached Ceylon, both from the western and the eastern sides of India, must necessarily have made earlier acquaintance with the South Indian kingdoms. Indeed, it is highly probable that the Indo-Aryan sailors learned of Ceylon from the native sailors whom they met in South Indian ports, because it is incredible that the South Indians could have failed to discover their large, island-neighbour before the sailors of the Indus delta did so. The Pāṇḍyans were closest to Ceylon, and, in all probability, had established trading contacts with and trading stations in Ceylon from the early years of their existence as a kingdom. Whether the people, or at least the dominant section of them, in these kingdoms at this period and earlier were Dravidians, as they were for certain in the 2nd century B.C. and afterwards, is now in dispute. In the legendary beginnings of Sinhalese civilisation related in the early chapters of the *Mahāvamsa*, the kingdom of Paṇḍu (which name is consistently used for Pāṇḍya

both in the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Cūlavamsa*) is said to have been in existence in the 6th century B.C., and the leader and chiefs of the first Indo-Aryan arrivals in Ceylon are said to have sent envoys to the Pāṇḍyan king and obtained wives, craftsmen and material assistance from that kingdom: the Paṇḍu king is not specifically called a Damiḷa, nor is it suggested that the normal inference that he was a Damiḷa should not be drawn in this particular instance. Conquerors of Ceylon from South India, designated Damiḷas in the *Mahāvamsa*, are mentioned in the first few decades of the 2nd century B.C., at which period one or more of the Dravidian kingdoms was sufficiently powerful to embark on conquests overseas. It will probably never be resolved satisfactorily why the South Indians did not resist the North Indian colonisation of Ceylon, or, if they did, how that resistance was overcome: by the 4th century B.C., if not earlier, the Indo-Aryan speaking people had founded a new and stable kingdom in Ceylon.

The inhabitants of this new Indo-Aryan, island kingdom, whom we may now call the Sinhalese, retained their cultural contacts with Northern India, particularly North-eastern India, and these contacts profoundly influenced their early civilisation. But they could expect no material aid in war, nor, perhaps, even remote political support from the distant lands of their origin. The possible and potential threats to their security and independence subsisted in their Dravidian neighbours in Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa and Keraḷa, and their relations with these kingdoms and the enemies of these kingdoms on the mainland became, accordingly, the principal factor in their foreign policy throughout their subsequent history.

The writings of Onesicritus, Megasthenes and Eratosthenes have not survived in original, but there are quotations from their works in the later geographical descriptions of Strabo and Pliny in particular. All, as did even Ptolemy five centuries later, greatly exaggerated the size of Ceylon and made it extend westward close to the African coast. All agree that it was an island off the southernmost part of India. Onesicritus says there were other islands between Taprobane and India, and Megasthenes that the intervening sea was full of shallows not more than 6 paces in depth but some channels were so deep that the anchors did not touch bottom. Both Onesicritus and Megasthenes say that the vessels used for this voyage were of about 35 tons and had prows at each end to avoid turning about in narrow channels. Onesicritus gives 20 days as the duration of the voyage from the Indian mainland and adds the information that around the shores of Taprobane were cetaceous animals which are amphibious and in appearance like oxen, horses and other land animals: he says also that the elephants of Ceylon were larger and more bellicose than those of India, which is the exact opposite of the truth, the Ceylon species being smaller and more docile and greatly prized abroad for this tractable quality. Eratosthenes says the voyage to Taprobane from the most southern ports of India occupied 7 days: he confirms the trade in elephants and adds that

the Island had no cities but villages to the number of 700. Megasthenes says further that Taprobane was divided by a river and the inhabitants were called Palaegoni and that it produced more gold and pearls of a greater size than India: the mariners of Taprobane made no observations of the stars, the Great Bear not being visible to them, but took birds out to sea and released them and followed their flight to land: the season for navigation was limited to four months and the sailors particularly avoided the 100 days which succeeded the summer solstice.

In the 1st century B.C. a Greek named Hippalos made the great discovery of the use of the monsoon winds to sail direct from the mouth of the Red Sea across the Indian Ocean to India, but Greco-Roman shipping did not begin to make full use of this knowledge till the following century. Then the coast-wise voyages were abandoned and regular, direct sailings to South India and Ceylon became the rule. Previously, the products of Ceylon were available to Western merchants in the ports of South India, but now they were secured by direct trade, and the better knowledge gained about the Island by these increasingly frequent visits to Ceylon is embodied in the writings of Strabo (circa B.C. 30—A.C. 24), Pliny the Elder (23—77), the author of the *Periplus* (circa 60), and, in particular, Ptolemy (circa 150). Strabo says that ivory, tortoise-shell and other articles were brought in large quantities from Taprobane to the Indian markets. Pliny says that Taprobane was 7 days sail from the Ganges. He describes how in the reign of Augustus Caesar a freedman of Annius Placamus, while coasting off Arabia, was carried by the winds for 15 days and made land at Hippuri or Hippuros, a port of Taprobane, where he was hospitably entertained for six months by the king whose capital was at Palaesimundus, a city of 200,000 inhabitants, situated near a harbour which faced south. The king particularly admired the Romans when he found that their denarii, though stamped with the heads of different emperors, were all of equal weight: and being desirous of establishing trade relations with the Romans, he sent four Sinhalese ambassadors, the chief of whom was Rachias (S. *Raṭiya*, a district chieftain), to accompany the freedman back to Rome. The account said to have been given in Rome by these ambassadors about their native land and its people is narrated at some length, but it is very evident that much of it is fabulous and very probably the result of misapprehension by the Romans and the Sinhalese of each other's language. The Sinhalese envoys are reported to have said that in the interior of the Island there was a lake called Megisba, 375 miles in circuit, with islands suitable for pasturage: 'from this lake there issued two rivers, one of which, called Palaesimundus, flows into the harbour near the city of the same name by three channels, the narrowest of which is 5 stadia wide, the largest 15, while the third, called Cydara, has a direction northward towards India. They further said that the nearest point in India is a promontory called Coliacum, four days sail from the Island, and that midway between them lies the island of the Sun; also that those seas

are of a vivid, green colour, and that a great number of trees grow at the bottom, so that the rudders of ships frequently break their crests off'. Among the products of the Island were said to be a marble which resembled tortoise-shell (mica), pearls and precious stones: elephants and tigers were hunted there. The *Periplus* says that the name Taprobane had been replaced by Palaesimundu.

Ptolemy's account of Ceylon is quite exceptional. He calls it 'the Island of Taprobane which was formerly called Simoundou and now Salike' (Sihaladīpa) and he says that 'the inhabitants are commonly called Salai' (Sihala). Ptolemy wrote his Geography in the middle of the 2nd century. He exaggerates the size of Ceylon to 14 times its actual area, but gives its general shape and outline with fair accuracy. His longitudes, reckoned eastward, are about 7° less than they should be and his Equator is about 230 miles north of its actual position. Codrington has identified North Cape with *Talaimannār*, Talakory or Aakote with *Māntai* (ancient Mahātīttha), Anōūrogrammon with Anurādhapura, the River Ganges with the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, the Malaia Mountains with the central mountain region (Malaya), and Maagrammon, the metropolis, with either Mahiyaṅgaṇa or *Mahagantōṭa*: he adds that the name River Azanos is derived from Azania, the east coast of Africa, towards which the coast of Taprobane was believed to extend. Other obvious identifications are Nagadiba with Nāgadīpa or Nakadiva (the *Jaffna* peninsula) and Rhogandanoi with the inhabitants of Rohana (Ruhuna). Codrington's identification of Talakory or Aakote with Mahātīttha (in medieval Sinhalese, Mahapuṭu, Mahavuṭu, Mahavoṭi, Mahavutoṭa, in Tamil, Mātōṭṭam) is untenable. Modouttou approximates much more closely to the old Sinhalese name, and it is very unlikely that a mistake was made in respect of the principal port. Talakory or Aakote must, therefore, be *Mannār* itself or a port on *Mannār* Island. Since Nagadiba undoubtedly stands for a coastal town in the *Jaffna* peninsula (Sūkaratīttha or Hūrātoṭa, modern *Kayts*; or Jambukola, modern *Sambilturai*; or, improbably, *Point Pedro*), the entire coast-line from North Cape through Modouttou to Nagadiba represents the north-west coast of Ceylon and not the north-east coast as Ptolemy shows it. This necessitates an important re-orientation of Ptolemy's map.

The River Phasis is the *Malvatta Oya*. Anoubingara, like Pati Bay, was a place between *Māntai* and *Point Pedro*: the same name occurs on the west coast and the duplication is evidently an error. The termination suggests a name ending in -nakara: the place was situated on the coast of the *Jaffna* peninsula. Pati Bay may stand for the *Jaffna* lagoon. If Codrington's identification of the mouth of the River Ganges with the Bay of *Trincomalee* is correct, then Ptolemy's map assigns only 1½ degrees of latitude to the 130 miles of coast-line between Nagadiba (probably *Kayts* or *Sambilturai*) and *Trincomalee*, while it assigns 4 degrees to the 80 miles between

Talaiwannār and Nagadiba. It is very unlikely that the long north-east coast is represented by the short gap on the map between Nagadiba and the mouth of the River Ganges and that this lengthy stretch of inhabited coast had only one feature of interest, the Spatana Haven. If the River Ganges is the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, it is extraordinary that no port is marked at its mouth and the great harbour of *Trincomalee* had no name. Codrington draws attention to the noticeable exception of *Trincomalee* among the find-spots of ancient coins, but this is not a weighty argument against the antiquity of *Trincomalee* because finds of coins of Ptolemy's time and earlier have been rare. In the *Chronicles* the port of *Trincomalee* is called Gokannatittha or Gōṇagāmaka: it is mentioned as a landing place in the 5th century B.C., though this account is probably legendary, and again in the 3rd century, and the author of the *Mahāvamsa* believed in its antiquity as a port at the time he compiled his work. The identity of the mouth of the River Ganges with the Bay of *Trincomalee* rests wholly upon the identification of that river with the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. Ganges does not necessarily signify the largest river in the country: *Gaṅga*, from which it is derived, means any large river and there were several *gaṅgas* in Ceylon. Ptolemy's River Ganges is the shortest of his five rivers and he gives its source as a range of hills in the lowcountry: the sea-faring men from whom Ptolemy collected his data could not have been misinformed by their Sinhalese informants about the great length of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and its origin in the central mountain region (Malaiia). Further down the east coast on Ptolemy's map is the port Bokana, which name approximates closely to Gokanna: its situation is near the mouth of a river which rises, as the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* does, in the central mountains. On all the grounds stated above, the correctness of the identification of the River Ganges with the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* becomes very doubtful: the probabilities are that the River Barakes represents the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and Bokana the port of *Trincomalee* (Gokanna). The River Ganges is probably the *Elephant Pass* lagoon or the *Mullaitivu* lagoon. Spatana Haven is a corruption of a name ending in -paṭana (port) and probably represents *Point Pedro*. Oxeia Headland ('Sharp Point') and the Haven of Rizala may, conjecturally, be put down as a point north of *Mullaitivu* and the *Mullaitivu* lagoon. Prokouri may have been near the mouth of the *Nāy Aru*. The Great Coast and the Haven of the Sun may correspond to *Kokkilāy* lagoon. Abaratha appears to have been a name ending in -raṭa (district): a place named Abagamiya is mentioned in a pre-Christian inscription near *Kuccavēli*. The Haven of Mardos was a short distance to the south. Cape Ketaion ('Whale Cape') was a point where a change of course had to be made and seems to fit *Sangamankanda*, the most easterly point in Ceylon. The *Chronicles* of the early historical period (3rd B.C. to 3rd A.C.) contain no references to the *Kalutara*, *Galle* and *Mātara* districts: nor are there any Brāhmī inscriptions or early ruins in these districts. It can therefore be assumed that this south-western area was not then populated. Its limits would have

been approximately *Kalutara* at one extremity and *Tangalla* at the other and they appear to be represented on Ptolemy's map by the gap between Noubartha and Odoka. The re-orientation of the map, based on the identification of Modouttou and Nagadiba, makes a line joining Noubartha and Nagadiba slightly to west of a true north-south line. Noubartha (like Abaratha) appears to have been a name ending in -raṭa and its position was in the vicinity of *Pāṇadura* or *Kalutara*. Odoka was probably near the mouth of the *Valavē Gaṅga*, the River Azanos being that river: the ancient monastery near the mouth of the *Valavē Gaṅga* was called, according to a 2nd century inscription *in situ*, Godapavata, and to it were assigned the customs duties of the port of the same name: Odoka may be a corruption of Godapavata. The Orneon Headland ('Headland of Birds') may correspond to *Hambantota* point. Dagana is described as 'sacred to the Moon' and is a misrendering of some such name as Candagama or Sandagama. Korkobara probably stands for the port near Mahāgāma (present *Tissamahārāma*) called Sakkarasobbha and its location was probably between *Būndala* and *Palatuṭāna*. The Cape of Dionysios was one of the points, *Ōkanda* or *Potana* or *Paṭanangala*, on the south-east coast. To return to the north-west coast, Cape Galiba is very probably *Kudiramalai* point and Galiboi the inhabitants of that locality. Margana is certainly the town of Magana mentioned in 1st and 2nd century inscriptions and was at the mouth of the *Moderagam Aru*. Iogana in all probability is identical with the port of Uruvelā near the mouth of the *Kalā Oya*. Cape Anarismoundou was probably *Kalpiṭiya* point and it seems to embody the name Simoundou by which, according to Ptolemy, Taprobane was formerly called. The River Soana is the Gona-nadi, the ancient name for the *Kalā Oya*, and the Soanoi the inhabitants of the Gona district, the lower course of the river. Sindokanda may have been in the neighbourhood of *Puttalam* and the Haven of Priapis near *Chilaw*. Anoubingara also occurs as a place-name in the north. Prasodes Bay may be the Bay of *Negombo* and the Headland of Zeus the promontory of *Colombo*. Ptolemy places Maagrammon to south-east of Anurādhapura and south-west of Nagadiba. He locates Nagadiba to east of Anurādhapura when it is actually north. The corrected position of Maagrammon would be to northward of Anurādhapura. Its identification with *Mahagantoṭa* or *Mahiyaṅga* cannot be sustained. *Maaganto* a was then known as *Kahagamatoṭa* (P. Kaccakattittha). The *Dīpavamsa* states that Upatissanagara, the capital before Anurādhapura, situated 10 or 12 miles to north of the latter, was a prosperous and large market-town. A locality to north-eastward of Anurādhapura was called Utarapura in epigraphs of the 1st and 2nd centuries. Maagrammon probably represents Upatissanagara which may be synonymous also with Utarapura. Adeisamon was on a prolongation northward of the line Anourogrammon-Maagrammon and in the vicinity of *Vavūniya* or even further north-east. Oulispada should be in the region of *Buttala* and Podouke in the locality *Kakivāva-Kurunāgala*. Nakadouba probably

refers to the Nāgamahāthūpa, the largest thūpa at Mahāgāma. The Sennoi inhabited the *Mullaitivu* district. Tarakhoi suggests the clan name Tarasa (P. Taraccha) and their abode was the northern part of *Trincomalee* district. Diordouloi may be a corruption of Digāmadulla (P. Dīghāyumaṇḍala), the present *Gal Oya* Valley in *Batticaloa* district. The Boumasanoi occupied the ancient *Kālaniya* kingdom. The Nageiroi were a people in the Mahāgāma area: Nāgas are mentioned in the vicinity of Cittalapabbata (*Situlpavva*) in the 1st century. The Gatiba mountains were probably the hills of *Kuncuttu Kōralē*. Ptolemy undoubtedly got some Sinhalese place-names and their positions nearly right and he achieved a tolerable likeness to the actual shape of Ceylon. His Greek names include some transliterations of Sinhalese names. Some names are distorted and others, probably, imaginary. His orientation was faulty and his idea of the size of Ceylon seriously wrong. Nevertheless, the information which he gives shows that in the 2nd century Western mariners and traders had acquired a remarkably good knowledge of the topography of Ceylon.

By the 4th century the Indian sea-borne trade was monopolised by the Axumites but there was a revival of Roman commerce with the East in the reign of Constantine: and it is recorded that in the year 361 an embassy from Serendivi (Ceylon) was received by the Emperor Julian. In the work, Pseudo-Kallisthenes, of the 5th century, there is an account by a Theban scholar of what he had learned about the Island of Taprobane, inhabited by the people called the Makrobioi ('the long-lived'). The Theban was told that in the neighbourhood of Taprobane there were a thousand other islands in the Erythraen Sea lying close to each other and one group of them, known as the Maniolai, possessed the magnet stone which attracted ships bolted with iron nails: Taprobane had five, large navigable rivers.

Chinese merchant ships had begun to visit Ceylon from pre-Christian times. Embassies from the Sinhalese king to the Chinese Emperor visited China in the 1st and 2nd centuries. The great traveller, the Chinese monk, Fa-Hsien, came to Ceylon, reaching it after a voyage of 14 days from Tāmluk at the mouth of the Ganges, in the year 411 and stayed here two years. He calls Ceylon 'the Land of the Lion' and gives its size as 50 yojanas from east to west and 30 yojanas from north to south, and he says that there were nearly 100 small islands off the Ceylon coast, distant from each other 2 to 40 miles, all subject to the main Island, and that they produced chiefly pearls and precious stones. There was one island, about 3 miles square, where the Mani beads (fine pearls used for rosaries) were found. Fa-Hsien says the climate was very agreeable, there being no distinction between summer and winter, and cultivation was carried on without regard to seasons. He gives a description of the City of Anurādhapura, of the great procession of the Tooth Relic, and of the cremation ceremony of a much revered monk of the *Mihintalē*

monastery. He observed many Sabaen (South Arabian) merchants in Ceylon. Fa-Hsien sailed from Ceylon in a large merchant vessel on which there were over 200 souls: the ship sailed eastward with a fair wind for two days, then a storm raged for 13 days and nights and they arrived alongside of an island where they stopped the leaks in the ship and again proceeded on their way, finally reaching Java after 90 or more days of sailing. Several Sinhalese embassies as well as parties of Sinhalese Buddhist monks and nuns went to China in the 5th century.

Sources of external information about Ceylon for the 4th and 5th centuries, barring the account of Fa-Hsien, are very scanty. By the second quarter of the 6th century, Ceylon had become the entrepot of sea trade between the West and the Far East. Chinese and other Far-Eastern ships sailed into its harbours carrying their cargoes of silks, while from the West came the vessels of the Persians and Axumites. In the ports of Ceylon these merchants from East and West, as well as the merchants of India, met and exchanged their goods and purchased the products of Ceylon. The 'Christian Topography' of Cosmas Indicopleustes is a work of this period and Ceylon is described in various passages in it as follows:—'Taprobane is a large oceanic island lying in the Indian sea. Among the Indians it goes by the name of Sielediba, but the Pagans call it Taprobane, wherein is found the stone, hyacinth. Around it there is a great number of small islands, all of them having fresh water and coconut trees. They nearly all have deep water close up to them. The great island, as the natives allege, has a length of 300 gaudia (*gāruta*) and a breadth of as many—that is, of 900 miles. There are two kings in the Island who are at feud with each other. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other the rest of the Island wherein are the port and the emporium of trade. The emporium is one much resorted to by the people in those parts. The Island has also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. The natives and their kings are, however, heathens in religion. In this Island they have many temples, and in one situated on an eminence is a single hyacinth as big as a large pine-cone, the colour of fire, and flashing from a distance, especially when the sunbeams play around it—a matchless sight. As its position is central, the Island is a great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it despatches many of its own to foreign ports. And from the inner countries, I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clove-wood, sandalwood and their other products, and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Male (Malabar), where pepper grows, and to Kalliana (near Bombay), where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress; for it is also a great mart of trade; and to Sindu (Sindh, the lower valley of the Indus) also, where musk or castor is got, as well as androstachus, and to Persia and the Homerite country, and to Adule (in the Red Sea).

Receiving in return the traffic of these marts, and transmitting it to the inner ports, the Island exports to each of these at the same time her own products . . . Out in the Ocean at the distance of five days and nights from the mainland lies Sielediba, that is, Taprobane . . . Sielediba being thus in a central position with reference to the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth, receives wares from all trading marts, and again distributes them over the world, and thus becomes a great emporium . . . The kings of various parts of India possess elephants. But the king of Sielediba obtains by purchase both the elephants and horses which he possesses. The price he pays for the elephants depends upon the number of cubits they reach in height. For the height is measured from the ground in cubits, and the price is reckoned at so many pieces of money for each cubit, say 50 or a 100 pieces, or even more. His horses again are imported from Persia, and the traders from whom he buys them he exempts from the payment of custom-house dues. Procopius confirms the statement of Cosmas that the Abyssinian sailors of Adulis, now the main market for trade exchanges between the East and the Byzantine Empire, were to be seen in the Ceylon ports. Arab sea-faring had nearly disappeared in the 6th century, but about the middle of the 7th century had secured domination over the ocean routes to the West and all that trade was in their hands. The Chinese retained control of the seaborne traffic to the Far East. The Sinhalese and Chinese exchanged embassies in the 7th and 8th centuries. A Chinese text recounts the visit to Ceylon in the years 718 and 719 of a princely and learned Indian monk named Vajrabodhi: from Anurādhapura he travelled into Ruhuna and thence to *Adam's Peak*, which is described as a wild region. Chinese sources describe the voyages of the Po-sse (? Persian Zoroastrians) to Ceylon and Malaya and say that they sailed in large ships. The visits of European ships and sailors to Indian and Ceylon ports had ceased in the 5th century and a thousand years were to pass before they re-entered Eastern waters.

References to Ceylon from the 9th to the 13th centuries are numerous in the South Indian inscriptions of this period: they occur chiefly in connection with the invasions and conquests of Ceylon by the Pāṇḍyans and Cōlas. In the 9th century pirates from the Gulf of Cutch raided shipping off the coasts of Ceylon as well as widely over the Indian Ocean. Muhammadan merchants had established a trading station in *Colombo* at least as early as the year 949: they had begun to trade with China in the 8th century. From 993 to 1070 Ceylon was a province of the Cōla Empire: the powerful Cōla navy helped in the conquest of Ceylon and the Maldive Islands and in the extension of Cōla power to Malaya and Java. The Sinhalese kingdom regained some degree of prosperity and power in the 12th century, but the 13th century was a very disturbed period, wracked by civil war, invasion and pillage, and towards its close Ceylon became a feudatory of the Pāṇḍyan Empire. In 1283, Bhuvanekabāhu I sent an embassy to the Sultan of Egypt with an offer to trade in cinnamon, precious

stones and elephants. A well-known traveller who visited Ceylon about 1293 was Marco Polo.

The principal ports of Ceylon, except Gokaṇṇa (*Trincomalee*), were those on the northern and north-western coasts, by far the most important being Mahātittha (*Māntai*). All were intimately associated with the pearl and chank fisheries in the shallow seas of this region. This coast was also the most vulnerable part of the Sinhalese kingdom because it faced the Coromandel coast of South India from which the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyans embarked upon their invasions of Ceylon. These invasions compelled a permanent change, for geographical reasons, in the site of the capital of the Sinhalese kings from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva in 1070.

(C). Territorial Divisions

Rohanadesa or Rohana-maṇḍala (Sinh. Ruhuṇu-danaviya) and Malayadesa or Malaya-maṇḍala (Sinh. Malamaṇḍulu) were two principalities which are mentioned from the earliest historical times. Rohana comprised all the area to the east of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* together with lower *Ūva* and the *Hambantota*, *Mātara* and *Galle* districts, and its capital was at Mahāgāma (present *Tissamahārāma*), while Malaya extended over the entire mountain region and its foothills. Rājaraṭṭha is not mentioned by that name in the Chronicle till the 9th century, but it was historically the earliest principality, the realm of the rulers at Anurādhapura until B.C. 161 when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya united the whole Island into one kingdom.

Rājaraṭṭha was divided into four divisions named after the cardinal directions and the most important of these divisions was Dakkhiṇadesa or Dakkhiṇapassa (Dakunpasa in inscriptions): from the end of the 6th century it became the principality of the Yuvarāja and this continued to be the practice till the 12th century. Towards the end of the 12th century, Rājaraṭṭha was changed to Patitṭhāraṭṭha (Sinh. Piṭṭirāṭa; in inscriptions, Piṭṭirajaya or Piṭṭirajaya), and Dakkhiṇadesa and Malaya were amalgamated to form Māvāraṭṭha (Māvā-rajaya), so-called because it was the appanage of the Māvā (equivalent to Mahayā or Mahapā, P. Mahāpāda): together with Rohana whose name remained unchanged, they formed Tisāhala (Trisāhala-rajaya or Tunrajaya).

The boundary between Rājaraṭṭha and Rohana was the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, the largest river in Ceylon. At different times Rohana was ruled by princes who were independent or semi-independent of the king at Anurādhapura. Revolts and uprisings usually originated there: so did the organisation of resistance to fight or expel a South Indian invader. The lines of communication from Rājaraṭṭha to Rohana were long and over difficult terrain, and therefore vulnerable: even the Cōlas, during their conquest in the 11th century, made no serious attempt to occupy and administer Rohana although they

carried out punitive expeditions. Economically, Rohaṇa was a much less prosperous territory than Rājaraṭṭha. It had no irrigation works approaching the magnitude of those in Rājaraṭṭha, and the remains of its capital, Mahāgāma, bear no comparison with those of Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva.

Malaya, the mountain principality, was ruled from the 6th century to the 11th century by a junior prince styled the Malayarāja. Later, it lost importance and its administrator was not a member of the royal family. The mountain fastnesses afforded sanctuary to defeated rebels and absconders from justice. Economically, Malaya produced little agriculturally but it was a source of precious stones.

Up to about the 7th century the terms used for the largest territorial divisions were *desa*, *passa* (S. *pasa*), and *janapada* (S. *dana-viya*). The term *raṭṭha* (S. *raṭa*) is absent in the *Mahāvamsa* although it occurs in the Pāli Commentaries. The inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era refer to district chieftains styled *raṭiya* or *raṭika*: one of them administered a sub-division called a *kaṇṇika* (*kaniya* in inscriptions). Other sub-divisions were known as *rāji* (*rajiya* in inscriptions), *bija* (*bīja* or *bijaka* in inscriptions) and *atana*. The governors of the largest territorial divisions were princes or ministers. The title *parumaka* signified the aristocracy next below royalty but it did not necessarily confer territorial jurisdiction, although some of the *parumakas* were *bojikas* of certain localities. The *gamika* was the village headman.

In the medieval period (8th to 12th centuries) 'provinces' were clearly distinguished from 'districts': in contemporary inscriptions the provincial administrators are styled *Pas-ladu* and the district chiefs *Raṭ-ladu*. But there was no uniformity (which is the case even at present) in the designations of the major territorial divisions. The provinces were called *passa* or *desa* or *padesa* or *janapada* or *maṇḍala* (S. *maḍulu*). *Raṭṭha* was a district within a province except in the case of the principality of Rājaraṭṭha (S. *Rajaraṭa*). There were other anomalies: Rohaṇa, Malaya and Rājaraṭṭha had within them divisions also known as *desa*, *passa*, *maṇḍala*, *janapada* and *raṭṭha*. An alternative for the district designation *raṭṭha* was *vagga* (S. *vaga* or *vaka*). *Maṇḍala*, which signified a province in the medieval period, was used occasionally in the early period in a much more restricted sense. The older names of the sub-divisions (*kaniya*, *rajiya*, etc.) went out of use and were replaced by *kūliya* and *bim*.

(D). Roads

Roads were necessary at all times for the passage of bullock-drawn wagons and carts which were the vehicles in common use in Ceylon from the beginnings of history. Horse-drawn chariots were employed to a limited extent in war, though they probably always formed part

of the king's equipage. Elephants were doubtless used to draw open carts carrying specially heavy loads. Defined roads, with suitable gradients and bridges of adequate strength at river crossings, were required by all these types of vehicles for the purposes of traffic and trade, and were in existence in Ceylon always. Remains of ancient roads, some paved, and of ancient stone bridges still exist. Wooden bridges were more common than those of stone, but, as is to be expected, all have perished. The construction of one particular bridge across the *Kalā Oya* at a point northward of *Giribāva* by Parakkamabāhu's general, Senāpati Deva, is described as follows:— 'he (the Senāpati) at the instruction of the king, threw a long, very fine and very solid bridge across the river of the *Kālavāpi*, passable by files of elephants, horses and chariots, held together with iron bands and nails, made of beams of timber, and 20 cubits (30 feet) broad'. Causeways of stone were also constructed. The Pāli Chronicles differentiate between main highways or trunk roads (*mahāmagga*), roads (*magga* or *maggānumagga*), streets in towns (*vīthi*) and footpaths (*ekapadikamagga* or *añjasa*). The Sinhalese inscriptions, likewise, distinguish between roads (*maṅga* or *māṅga*) and streets (*veya*). Resthouses (*ambalam* of modern times) were provided at intervals on the roads so that travellers could shelter or rest. Nissanka Malla (1187—1196) states in an inscription:— 'in the course of inspecting the three kingdoms (*Pihiti*, *Māyā* and *Ruhuna*) in various ways, he (the King) fixed the distance of a *gavuva* and calling it a *Niśśāṅkagavuva*, he caused inscribed milestones to be set up'. Several of these *gāvuta* or *Niśśāṅkagavuva* pillars have been discovered along ancient roads, and Codrington has stated his opinion that the earlier Sinhalese *gavuva* was about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The Chronicles and Commentaries refer specifically to a few of the main highways:— (i) from Jambukola (near *Kankēsanturai*) to Anurādhapura; (ii) from Mahātittha (*Māntai*) to Anurādhapura: this was an important commercial route as well as the path of the invader advancing from the seaport upon the capital; (iii) from Anurādhapura via the Kacchakatittha ford (*Mahagantota*), Mahiyaṅga and *Buttala* to Mahāgāma (*Tissamahārāma*), joining the capitals of Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa: from *Mihintalē* to *Mahagantota* on this route was 9 *yojanas*; (iv) from Mahāgāma to *Dīghavāpi* (near *Irakkāmam* in the *Gal Oya* Valley), 9 *yojanas*; (v) from Anurādhapura to Uruvelā (at the mouth of the *Kalā Oya*), 5 *yojanas*; (vi) the East coast highroad, which passed through Chagāma (*Sākāmam*); and (vii) the pilgrim road from Rājaraṭṭha to *Adam's Peak* which was greatly improved in the reign of Vijayabāhu I. There were many other highroads joining centres of population and trade, especially the ports, *nakaraṣ* (forts or trading-stations) and *niyamatanas* (market-towns). In the towns, street-lines were laid down: Fa-Hsien (411—413) says that in Anurādhapura 'main streets and side streets were level and well-kept'. The main highway in the capital city was the *Maṅgul-maha-veya*

which ran through the north and south gates of the Citadel. The bunds of the larger tanks and of the major canals would have made excellent highways, as they do at this day (e.g. *Kalāvāva*, *Nuvaravāva*, *Kantalāy* tank, *Parākramasamudra*, *Tissavāva* at Anurādhapura, *Tissavāva* at *Tissamahārāma*, *Ālahāra* canal, *Yōdavāva*, *Rīdi-bāndi-āla*, *Angamādilla-āla* and several others). The bunds of the smaller tanks would have formed the main footpaths, as they still do in the dry zone. The ancient Sinhalese, whose skill in irrigation engineering attained the highest degree of proficiency, would readily have understood how to make the best use of the contours in road construction and how to safeguard their roads against erosion by the action of water.

It might be added here that the *Kalu-gal-bāmma* which runs across country for many miles in *Bintāna Pattu* and *Velassa Division* and was thought to be a built-up highway, is not the work of man but a natural dyke.

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CHAPTER II

THE BATTICALOA DISTRICT

(A). Pānama Pattu

Pānama Pattu is the southernmost division of the administrative district of *Batticaloa* and the greater part of it is under forest. The only perennial river is the *Kumbukkan Oya* which is the boundary between the *Batticaloa* and *Hambantota* districts. The ancient irrigation works were of no great dimensions but the region held quite a large population because there are many remains of Buddhist monasteries, some of them dating from the 2nd century B.C. Massive rock-groups, many over 250 feet in height, and extensive outcrops of rock rise from the level ground every few miles, some from the seashore itself, and the ancient Sinhalese made use of these commanding and picturesque sites, as they did everywhere, to construct their cave monasteries and thūpas. The coast-line is indented by several salt lagoons, but the only natural harbour is *Arugam Bay*. As in the adjacent *Yāla* area, a notable feature is the absence of inscriptions and of architectural and sculptural remains of the medieval period (9th to 13th centuries): this suggests some considerable depopulation of the region before this period, probably owing to disease, as stated in an early Portuguese map.¹

The extensive ruins, consisting of numerous caves, at *Bambara-gastalāva*, nearly 4 miles west of *Ōkanda*, are named Nakapavata in a pre-Christian cave inscription there. This, in all probability, is the *Nāgapabbata Vihāra* founded by Goṭṭābhaya, ruler of Rohaṇa, very early in the 2nd century B.C.²

Next in known date of foundation are the ruins at *Karandahēla*, about a mile north of the 14th mile on the *Pottuvil-Monerāgala* road. This is a lofty hill with the remains of a thūpa and other buildings at its foot and caves at the higher levels. An inscription of the 1st century *in situ* states that Habutagala Vihara (the ancient name of the monastery) was founded by Kakavaṇa Tisa Maharaja (Kākavaṇa Tissa or Kāvaṇ Tissa, ruler of Rohaṇa in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century B.C.). The name Habutagala may be synonymous with Hambugallaka Vihāra of the *Mahāvamsa*, the place where the thera Tissa persuaded the offended Ministers of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya to become reconciled with their king. Other inscriptions, also of the 1st century, give the names of three tanks granted to Habutagala

1. 'Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Yāla East Reserve', Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, 58ff.

2. *Ibid.*, 60-62 ; C.J.S. (G) II, 115, 176.

Vihara :— Dahuliya, Gabīḍatātiri, and Hamaṇavira : three or four breached tanks now exist in the vicinity.³

The cave inscriptions at the ancient monastery at *Bōvattagala*, about 3 miles north-west of *Kūmūna*, are of considerable interest in that they record donations made to the Saṅgha by the descendants, probably contemporaneous with *Dutthagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137), of the once independent royal dynasty of *Kataragama* which was dispossessed by *Gothābhaya* of *Rohaṇa*. The inscriptions of this dynasty, which are associated with those at *Koṭṭadāmuḥela*, a few miles to the west, carry the distinctive emblem of a fish and they give the names of five generations of royal personages :— (i) *Gaṇiṇi* : (ii) his 10 sons, one of whom was *Raja Uti* ; (iii) his grandsons, *Damaraja* and prince *Abaya* ; (iv) his great-grandchildren, the princes *Mahatīsa* and *Tīsa*, and the princess *Anuradi* ; and (v) his great-great-granddaughter, princess *Śaverā*. Later inscriptions at *Bōvattagala* indicate that the monastery was in a flourishing condition up to the 7th century.⁴

A township named *Uti*, possibly connected with *Raja Uti* of the *Kataragama* dynasty, is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century B.C. at *Kōṅgala*, a rocky hill about 4 miles north of *Kūmana*, where there are several inscribed caves. Inscriptions of the 5th century at this same site mention the places *Citagalaya* and *Mayulavila* : the latter name is repeated in a 4th century inscription at *Ākurukeṇṇigala*, about 20 miles further north.⁵

Kiripokunahela, about 2 miles south of *Bambaragastalīva*, was also a pre-Christian cave monastery. A 5th century inscription here records the construction of the rock-cut steps by a resident of *Kunavivata*.⁶

The village *Kaṇiyutagama* is mentioned in a pre-Christian cave inscription at *Vihāregala*, a remote group of ruins about 9 miles west of *Ōkanda*.⁷

Other pre-Christian Buddhist monasteries bearing contemporary inscriptions occur at :— (i) *Veheragalkanda*, about 10 miles west of *Ōkanda* ; (ii) *Kuḍimbigala*, 2 miles north-west of *Ōkanda*, a very picturesque and dominating rock ; (iii) *Kiralāna*, 4 miles north-west of *Ōkanda* ; (iv) *Nīlagiriya*, a lofty rock, 3 miles south of the 10th mile on the *Pottuvil-Monerāgala* road ; (v) *Rotākulam*, 3 miles from *Pottuvil*, where the inscription is by a leader of bowmen ; (vi) *Tisnāula-keṇa*, north of *Hālava* ; (vii) *Nāval-Ār-kulam*, where there is a solitary cave carrying an inscription by the son of a prince who was a ma-ter

of elephant-trainers ; (viii) *Budubāva*, about 5 miles from *Vadagama* ; and (ix) *Lēnama*, about 6 miles west of *Ōkanda*. There is little doubt that systematic exploration will reveal more ancient sites in this area.⁸

Pānama-vāva Vihāra, by *Pānama* tank and about 2 miles from the village, was also founded in pre-Christian times, as a cave inscription attests. Later inscriptions of the 5th to 7th centuries at this site give its ancient name as *Panava-rajamaha-vahara*, situated in the sub-division named *Vajana*. Also mentioned are the places :— (i) *Uḍagama* ; (ii) *Luṇugamana*, doubtless associated with one of the salt lagoons in the vicinity and (iii) *Venijana*.⁹

At '*Line*'-malai (so-called because an old survey line runs by it), a small, rocky hill about 2 miles west of *Rotākulam*, there are inscriptions by three early kings, *Bhātikābhaya* (B.C. 22—A.C. 7), *Mahādāthikamahānāga* (7—19) and *Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa* (167—186). The site is named *Sipavata Vihara* in all the inscriptions, a name unknown from the Chronicles, but perhaps identical with the later *Sigam* of the *Sigiri* Graffiti. In the inscription of *Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa* the grantor was the *Raṭiya* (district administrator) who administered the division named *Huvahaka*, which is identical with *Huvāca-kaṇṇikā* mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as a district in *Rohaṇa* in the 1st century. If *Huvāca-kaṇṇikā* was a sub-division of the area afterwards known as *Hūvaratṭha* (present *Ūva*), then *Hūvaratṭha* extended in the 1st century as far as the sea near *Pottuvil*. In *Huvāca-kaṇṇikā*, *Mahādāthikamahānāga* built the *Cūlanāgapabbata* or *Cūlanāgalena Vihāra* which was considered to be an ideal place for meditation : it has not been identified. The other place-names which occur in the '*Line*'-malai inscriptions are :— (i) *Dakapūṇaka* ; (ii) *Maha Girigamaka*, where there was an irrigation canal ; (iii) *Nakamulaya*, the seat of the *Raṭiya* of *Huvahaka* ; (iv) *Darakāḍa* tank in *Damaraya* ; (v) *Coraviya* tank and (vi) the tract of fields named *Mala*.¹⁰

Kālāyana-kaṇṇikā was a sub-division of *Rohaṇa* at the beginning of the 1st century and was an area extending approximately from *Pottuvil* to *Pānama*. In this district *Mahādāthikamahānāga* (7—19) built *Maṇināgapabbata Vihāra*. At the ruins now known as *Rātravala* or *Sāstravala*, close to the sea and not far from the mouth of the *Nāval-Ār*, where there are the remains of a colossal *thūpa*, there is an inscription of this king in which he records his benefaction to the *vihāra* at the site which is named *Bohogiri Nakapavata Vihara* : this, doubtless, is the *Maṇināgapabbata Vihāra* of the Chronicle. Places named in the inscription as assigned to the *Vihāra* are :— (i) *Velamuka* or *Elamuka*, a name which suggests a place on the coast ; (ii) *Urakamaka* ;

3. *M.* 33, 71 ; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 238.

4. *C.J.S.* (G) II, 99 (footnote 2), 100, 114, 115, 175, 176 ; Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, 65-68.

5. Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, 63.

6. *Ibid.*, 62.

7. *Ibid.*, 64.

8. Parker, 432 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 117 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 200 ; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 246.

9. *C.J.S.* (G) II, 113, 114.

10. *M.* 34, 90 ; 60, 66 ; *M.T.* 637, 21 ; *E.H.B.* 120 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 127 ; IX, No. 1, 42 ; *Sig. Graff.*, I, App. C.

(iii) Hujikada and (iv) Bira(.)gayara. In the same district of Kālāyana-kannikā, the same king built the Kalanda Vihāra : in a later passage, Mahāsena (275—301) is credited with the building of Kalanda Vihāra at Brāhmaṇagāma in Rohaṇa, destroying a Brahmanical temple there and erecting his vihāra on its site. Again, Aggabodhi VII (772—777) is said to have built Kalanda Vihāra. The ruins of Kalanda Vihāra have not yet been identified.¹¹

Mahādāthikamahānāga also built the Pāsānapipika Vihāra. The name fits the large, isolated rock now called *Nilagiriya*, south of *Lahugala*. To honour the Mahāthera of Pāsānapipika Vihāra, Dappula (circa 650), the ruler of Rohaṇa, built for him the Rohaṇa or Ruhunu Vihāra. In two inscriptions of the 14th century at the site now called *Magul-maha-vihāra* (about 7 miles west of *Pottuvil*), inscribed by command of a Queen named Vihāramahādevī, who was the chief consort of two brother kings named Perakumba (=Parakkama) who vanquished the Cōlas and ruled over Rohaṇa, the site is named Rūnu-maha-vera and is said to have been founded by king Dāsēnkālī (Dhātusena). Notwithstanding the discrepancy between the Chronicles and the inscription as to the name of the founder, the identity of Rohaṇa Vihāra is established.¹²

Mahādāthikamahānāga (7—19) built the Samuddha or Samudda Vihāra on the banks of the Kubukanda-nadi, the present *Kumbukkan Oya*. The name suggests a situation near the sea.¹³

An inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167—186) at *Nelumapat Pokuna*, about 5 miles north of *Kūmana*, gives the ancient name of the site as Gosagala Mahavihara and grants to it shares in water-revenues at Mahanakaraka, presumably Anurādhapura.¹⁴

On the boundary between *Pānama Pattu* and the *Badulla* district and close to the north bank of the *Hāḍa Oya* is a picturesque ruined site known as *Nā-maḷuva* where there are several inscriptions dating from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.C. In these inscriptions the site is named Giritisapavata-mahavihara. Two of the inscriptions are dated in the reign of Sirimekavāṇa Aba Maharaja (Sirimeghavāṇa, 301—328). A territorial division named Mayuvelasa (in which the modern name *Velassa* might be contained) is mentioned : this division apparently extended over this area and in it was the village Mahagama. Other place-names mentioned are :— (i) Vilagama ; (ii) Vahiraka and (iii) Balasataka. One inscription names the Minister Labakanaka Aba, a member of the Lambakanna clan.

11. *M.* 34. 89 : 37. 41 : 48. 70 ; *M.T.* 637, 19, 685 ; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 243, note 51.

12. *M.* 34. 91 : 45. 54 ; *Puj.* 29 ; *Raj.* 57 ; *E.Z.* IV, 161.

13. *M.* 34. 90 ; *M.T.* 606.

14. Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, 64 ; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1934, 18.

At the ruins at *Galahitiōḍai*, about 2 miles southward of *Lahugala* tank, there are inscriptions of the 1st, 3rd and 4th centuries. The site is named Ayapavata and the places Avaḍaka and Bamaviya are mentioned.

Akuruḷetugala is a ruined site about a mile from the last-named with two inscriptions of the 4th century. The ancient name of the site is given as Karapavata Mahavihara, and the places Garadara and Mayulavila (which also occurs at *Kōngala*) are mentioned.

The ruined site now known as *Veharakema*, about 6 miles south-east of *Lahugala*, is named Macaḷa Vehera in a 7th century inscription *in situ*. The inscription is by a king named Vahaka Maharaja, a ruler not mentioned in the Chronicles, and he declares that he built the Cetiya at this spot.¹⁵

(B). The Gal Oya Valley

The *Gal Oya Valley*, or, more strictly, the Area of Authority of the *Gal Oya Development Board*, occupies, for the greater part, the ancient and important territorial division called Dīghavāpi-maṇḍala or Dīghavāpi-raṭṭha in the Pāli Chronicles and Commentaries and Digā-maṇḍulu or Digāmaṭulla in Sinhalese literature and inscriptions.¹⁶ Within this major division were sub-divisions styled maṇḍala, janavu (danaviya, P. janapada), vaga (synonymous with vaka, P. vagga) and kuḷiya, so that it bore the status of a province and not that of the normal raṭṭha or district.¹⁷ It extended over both banks of the Gālha Gaṅgā (Gal-hoy, present *Gal Oya*) and the area to north of the river was called, in a 10th century inscription, Metera-Digāmaṇḍulla.¹⁸

The name Dīghavāpi (which means literally 'long tank') goes back in legend and history to the earliest recorded times. It is stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that the Buddha on his third visit to Ceylon, after spending the day at the foot of Sumanakūṭa (*Adam's Peak*), 'set forth for Dīghavāpi, and there the Master seated himself with the brotherhood at the place where the Cetiya (afterwards) stood, and gave himself up to meditation to consecrate the spot'. The older Chronicle, the *Dīpavamsa*, has no reference to the visit to Sumanakūṭa : it says that the Buddha went to Dīghavāpi from the site of the later Kalyāni (*Kālaniya*) thūpa, travelling through the air, and that 'at the place of the Dīghavāpi Cetiya, the Buddha who was full of compassion to the world, descended from the air and again entered upon mystical meditation'.¹⁹ By this association with the Buddha, as

15. *E.Z.* IV, 143 ; *SdhRv* 315.

16. *M.* I. 78 : 24. 2 : 33. 9 : 74. 110, 180 : 75. 1, 10 ; *Puj.* 2 ; *Raj.* 33 ; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1953. 22.

17. *U.C.R.* IX, No. 1, 20, 41.

18. *M.* 48. 132 ; *E.Z.* IV. 75 (as corrected at *E.Z.* V, 139).

19. *M.* I. 77-79 ; D. 2. 58-60.

the Buddhists believed, Dīghavāpi became one of the 16 most sacred places of the Buddhists of Ceylon.

The traditions recorded in the Ceylon Chronicles about the Indo-Aryan ancestors of the Sinhalese, who came from Northern India and colonised the Island, preserve the names of some of the leaders who founded the first settlements, which were named after them. One of these leaders or chieftains was the noble Dīghāyu; and Dr. Paranavitana has made an important observation on the connection between Dīghāyu and Dīghavāpi. He says, 'the form Digā, as well as Digā (in Digāmadulla and Digāmaṇḍulu), presupposes an original Dīghāyu, and the place known as Dīghavāpi was possibly the same as the settlement named after Dīghāyu, referred to in chapter 9, verse 10 of the *Mahāvamsa*. In the identification of Dīghavāpi, it is, therefore, not necessary to look for a long tank'.²⁰ The construction of a tank named Dīghavāpi is nowhere recorded, and the medieval Sinhalese name for the region did not include the element -vāpi (tank, S. -vāva). It is quite possible, of course, that one of the tanks was called Dīghavāpi after the district, and it might well have been the first tank to have been constructed there, but the reservoir itself was not of such dimensions or importance to receive specific mention. Parker attempted to identify the breached tank now known as *Mahakandiyavāva* or *Kandiankattu*, about 6 miles south-west of *Uhana*, with the long tank, Dīghavāpi. Brohier describes it as follows:—'the reservoir was formed in the foothills of the Uva mountains by raising two short, low embankments across the hollows in a central stretch of high ground. Judged from the contour map it was perhaps 6 miles in length, and possibly not much more—if anything less, than one mile in width on the average... Its reputed tributary channels which led to the fields appear to have been spread, over the Batticaloa district, almost up to the coast, for 40 miles or more... The size and shape of Mahakandiya Wewa, however, yet remain a matter of controversy, although the modern topographical maps reduce the margin of error'.²¹ Later history says nothing about any enlargement or restoration of an original tank named Dīghavāpi: indeed, there is complete silence in the Chronicles about a tank of that name although references are numerous to the place and the district with the same name.

The identity of a tank with a long bund named Dīghavāpi may well be questioned, but there is no historical doubt that this region was, 22 centuries ago, one of the most important food producing areas in the principality of Rohaṇa (Ruhuna). The eastern frontier of the Tamil conqueror, Elāra, in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., was the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*: along it, from Mahiyaṅgaṇa to the sea,

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa maintained garrisons at a number of fords to guard against invasion of his own territory of Rohaṇa. The Chronicle states that Kākavaṇṇa Tissa stationed his second son, the prince Tissa, at Dīghavāpi with troops and chariots 'in order to guard the open country'.²² This statement is difficult to understand. Since the river-line was defended, an attack down the east coast, through Dīghavāpi, could not be delivered unless the river defences were first breached. Furthermore, the Dīghavāpi district was too remote to supply timely reinforcements to threatened troops on the river, and, it was far distant from the direct line of march from any point of break-through on the river to Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's capital, Mahāgāma (*Tissamahārāma*). Therefore, the forces commanded by prince Tissa in the Dīghavāpi district could have played but a limited role in any general scheme for the defence of Rohaṇa against Elāra. We know, however, from epigraphical sources, that up to this time no king had established his authority over the whole of Ceylon: there were rulers, styled raja in their inscriptions, independent of each other, in various regions in the Island, and in Rohaṇa itself there was the recently suppressed *Kataragama* dynasty which held sway over the south-east of Ceylon and part of the Batticaloa district.²³ It may well be that it was to protect Rohaṇa against these internal, potential enemies, and not against Elāra, that the prince Tissa was stationed at Dīghavāpi.

In B.C. 161, when Elāra had been overthrown and the whole of Ceylon united, for the first time, under the sole rule of one Sinhalese monarch, King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (Duṭṭugāmuṇu), the same prince Tissa (the new king's younger brother and heir to the throne) was again appointed to reside at Dīghavāpi 'to direct the work of harvest': and there he remained for 23 years until the last year of his brother's reign.²⁴ The importance of the Dīghavāpi district, it may be conjectured from this subsequent statement, lay not so much in its military significance as in its value as one of the principal sources of food supply at that time. The vice-royalty of the prince Tissa in this region as well as over the greater part of Eastern Ceylon is still remembered in local tradition which ascribes to Tissa Kumārāya many of the ruins which still survive. The Chronicles record that while prince Tissa resided at Dīghavāpi his two sons built each a Vihāra, in that region. The eldest son, Laṇḍatissa, built the beautiful Kumbhila or Girikumbhila Vihāra, which has been identified by recently discovered inscriptions *in situ* as the ruins near *Bakkiālla*. The younger son, Thūlathana, built the Kandara Vihāra, also called Alakandara and Lākandara. The Pāli Commentaries mention viharas named Lokandara, Lokantara and Lokuttara which

22. M. 23. 16: 24. 2.

23. C.J.S. (G) II. 99, 100, 175, 176; Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume, 65-67.

24. M. 24. 57, 58: 32. 2.

20. Note 1 to E.Z. V, 134.

21. Parker, 'Ancient Ceylon', 396; Brohier, 'Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon', III, 42, 44.

may be synonyms for Kandara or Lākandara,²⁵ but the site has not yet been discovered. It is not improbable that more than one ancient site hidden in the jungle was submerged when the present *Gal Oya* reservoir was constructed. On ascending the throne in B.C. 137 king Saddhātissa (previously the prince Tissa) built the Dīghavāpi Cetiya together with the Vihāra of that name: the Cetiya was covered with a network set with gems and decorated with flowers of gold. The Sinhalese Chronicles call it Dīghanakha or Digānaka.²⁶ There is, strangely, no further reference in the Chronicles to any renovation or embellishment of this celebrated vihāra. Mention is made of a visit by Kittisirirājasīha in the middle of the 18th century to the Nakha Cetiya, but whether this was identical with ancient Dīghavāpi (Dīghanakha) Cetiya is not certain: the ruined monument at *Vēraiaḍi*, near *Irakkāmam*, was locally known as *Nakha-vehera* prior to its re-occupation by the Saṅgha about 1924, since which time it has been popularly, and probably correctly, known as Dīghavāpi Cetiya.

At *Rājagala* or *Rāssahela*, the large rocky hill on the eastern side of *Divulāna* tank, there are many drip-ledged caves, the former abode of eremite monks, and about 20 of these caves bear inscriptions in the script of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Five of these epigraphs record the donation of some of the caves to the Saṅgha by two sons of Saddhātissa (who is styled Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Tiśa) and their wives: one son is styled Maha Aya (great prince) signifying that he was the eldest son, and the names of his wives are given as Budadata and Yahaṣini, while the other son is called Tiśa Aya (prince Tiśa) and his wife is named Samika.²⁷ Maha Aya afterwards became king as Lañjatissa (B.C. 119—110) but a prince named Tissa who was a son of Saddhātissa is not mentioned in the Chronicles. In one of the inscriptions the name of the hill may be read doubtfully as Dhanatiśa-pavata: Gothābhaya, ruler of Rohaṇa, the grandfather of Saddhātissa, is said to have founded a vihāra named Dānapabbata.²⁸

The Kuñjarahinaka Vihāra, also called Kandarahinaka, built by king Lañjatissa, was probably in Dīghavāpi district: and the Pācīnagharaka Vihāra, which existed in the 1st century, was, if not in Dīghavāpi district, just outside it to the west or north-west.²⁹ In these early days the distance from Dīghavāpi to Mahāgāma (*Tissamahārāma*) was reckoned as 9 yojanas (70 to 80 miles): the ancient route is not specified.³⁰

There are other known ancient sites in the *Gal Oya* Valley where there are inscriptions which date these ruins back to the 2nd or 1st

century B.C. On a hill about a mile north-east of *Damana* there is a group of 7 caves with inscriptions: one cave was donated by the wife of a chieftain, another by a village headman. On the hill, *Ganēgama-kanda*, above the village of *Vaḍināgala*, there is a similar group of inscribed caves donated by, amongst others, the local village corporation, a village headman and a householder. In village No. 10 at *Uhana* there is an unusual epigraph which reads, 'the grove of the monk Kubira', while at *Amṭarai* there is a cave inscription which states that the cave was donated by 'the group of twelve men'. At *Saṅgamankanda*, just inland of the 53 3/4 milepost, is an extensive outcrop of rock, mounted by rock-cut steps and crowned by a breached thūpa. A cave inscription and two rock inscriptions of pre-Christian date occur at *Mullikulam-malai*, near *Pālamunai*.³¹

Inscriptions of the early centuries A.C. occur at a few other sites, also monastic. On the rock at *Vērapudāva*, near *Tōṭṭama*, there is a worn inscription of the 2nd century and another of the 7th century.³² At *Pokunudeka*, 6 miles from *Uhana*, 3 inscriptions of the 3rd/4th century occur, and one of them is by a district chieftain (raṭiya) concerning the cutting of the rock-cut steps: none of them gives the ancient name of the vihāra. At *Koṇḍavattuvan* tank there are scattered ruins which may or may not have formed a single monastery in ancient times. A pre-Christian inscription is the oldest epigraph. Next in date are two inscriptions of the early centuries A.C. inscribed on a boulder in the upper reaches of the tank, and one of them gives the ancient name of the monastery as Ahali-araba-vihara, a name not recorded in the Chronicles. Not far away is an inscribed stone pillar, the contents of which will be described later.

At the extensive ancient monastery on *Rājagala* or *Rāssahela* (already mentioned in connection with the cave inscriptions there of the sons of Saddhātissa) there are also three rock inscriptions of the reign of Mahinda II (777-797) which have been edited in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.³³ Mahinda II was the king who, after subduing rebellion in Rohaṇa, decreed the *Gālha Gaṅgā* (*Gal Oya*), in place of the *Mahavāli Gaṅgā*, as the future boundary between *Rājaratṭha* and Rohaṇa. The three epigraphs record grants of land to Arittārā-vehera, the 8th century name of the site, situated in the sub-division of *Lam-janavu* (=Lam-danaviya) by (i) Āpāy Dāsiya (Ādipāda Dāthāsiva of the *Cūlavamsa*),³⁴ a ruler of Rohaṇa, (ii) Sen, a high dignitary of Rohaṇa, and (iii) Virāmkurā, the administrator of the *Lam-janavu* area. The lands granted to the Vihāra were situated in the villages of:—

- (i) Kalalvāli, in *Lam-janavu* sub-district (the area around *Divulāna*, probably extending to *Uhana*);

25. D. 20. 8, 10; M. 33. 14, 15; E.H.B. 66, 83, 123.

26. M. 33. 10, 11; Puj. 18; Raj. 44.

27. A.S.C.A.R. 1935, para 39; U.C.R. VII, No. 4, 244.

28. Dhv. 31.

29. M. 33. 27; E.M. 33. 26; E.H.B. 66.

30. E.H.B. 30.

31. A.S.C.A.R., 1953, 28; 1954, 36; C.J.S. (G) II, 119.

32. A.S.C.A.R., 1954, 36, No. 13.

33. E.Z., IV. 169-176.

34. Cul. 48. 132; 49. 10-13.

- (ii) Soruyur, on the south (right) bank of the Gal-hoy (*Gal Oya*) ;
- (iii) Mahāvāgaṇā, in Saraṭvāga sub-division ;
- (iv) Guḷavālla ;
- (v) Mivangamu, which may be identical with *Muvangamuva*, 3 miles south of *Ampārai* ;
- (vi) Māḷatta (not the same as Mālavatthu).

Mālavatthu-maṇḍala or Malvatu-maṇḍala or Malvatu-kūḷiya was the local sub-district around the village of Mālavatthu, modern *Malvattai*, between *Ampārai* and *Sammanturai*: this village was granted in the middle of the 7th century to Ariyākari Vihāra, a monastery in Rohaṇa.³⁵

The pillar inscription at *Koṇḍavattavan* has been edited by Dr. Paranavitana³⁶ and is of great interest 'for the light it throws on the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Ceylon during the 9th and 10th centuries'. It is dated in the 10th year (934) of king Dappula IV. In substance it is an edict regulating certain aspects of the administration of the village of Ārāgam (present *Koṇḍavattavan*), situated in Metera Digāmaṇḍulla (Digāmaṇḍulla to north of the *Gal Oya*), the revenues of which were enjoyed at the time by the Daṇḍā-nāyaka named Rakus of Saṅgavā (a place-name) who later became the King's Commander-in-Chief (Seneviradun, P. Senāpati). The richer landlords of this time, particularly if they were absentee landlords, were permitted to farm their revenues to lessees or revenue-farmers who dealt direct with the tenants and collected the landlord's dues on a commission basis. This system of lease was called *pāṭṭa*, a word of Tamil origin, and is still practised in South India but had gone out of use in Ceylon in the 16th century.

The Dīghavāpi district attained historical importance for the last time during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186). It was a centre of fierce resistance to that monarch's attempt to extend his authority over the principality of Rohaṇa. Before his accession to the throne, Parakkamabāhu had waged a long and bitter, but eventually successful, war with Mānābharāṇa, the ruler of Rohaṇa, but all the fighting took place along the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and in the Polonnaruva area: when Mānābharāṇa finally suffered defeat and gave up the struggle, Parakkamabāhu did not exploit his success by pursuing him into Rohaṇa. On his death bed, Mānābharāṇa is said to have commanded the princes of his family to submit themselves to Parakkamabāhu, but this injunction was not heeded. The Tooth and Bowl Relics, indispensable to sovereignty over the whole of Ceylon, were in Mānābharāṇa's possession and, on his death, passed to his mother, Queen Sugalā. When Parakkamabāhu celebrated his consecration at Polonnaruva as the successor of Gajabāhu, ruler of Rājaraṭṭha, the

ceremony was performed without the Relics. At the beginning of his reign he proceeded to subjugate Rohaṇa in order to obtain forcible possession of the Relics, and the people of Rohaṇa stood firmly behind Queen Sugalā in resisting aggression. Parakkamabāhu's troops, commanded by the Laṅkādhikārin Kitti entered Dīghavāpi district from Erāhuḷu (*Ērāvūr*, 8 miles northward of *Batticaloa*), captured a fortified position at Givulaba (possibly *Divulāna*) and advanced to Uddhagāma (*Uhana*) where they entrenched themselves and stayed three months, making forays on pockets of resistance in the vicinity. The next objective was Hihobu, a well-fortified place, protected by trenches and thorn fences: this was captured, as well as another strong point at Kirindagāma, and the invading forces then occupied and encamped at Dīghavāpi (*Vēraiadi*). At this juncture all these troops were diverted to the *Monerāgala* area to reinforce other columns in a converging attack on *Etīmōlē* where Queen Sugalā had taken up her position with the Relics: the attack succeeded and the Relics were captured, but the Queen escaped. The soldiers of Rohaṇa now assembled in large and threatening strength in the *Buttala* district, open resistance and underground activities were intensified everywhere, Parakkamabāhu's forces found themselves under attack from flank and rear, and his generals met in conference to discuss the menacing military situation. They summed up the enemy's tactics in the following words:—'Our foes know their own country. When we come near them they disperse on every side, penetrate again into the territory that we have brought into our power, in order to conquer it, and vex the people'. They decided, therefore, that for the future they would post a strong garrison with capable officers in every area which they subdued to hold and consolidate their gains and prevent the enemy from re-entering or re-occupying it. Serious rebellion was reported to have broken out again in the Dīghavāpi district and it was agreed that, in the first instance, a concerted attack should be launched upon this region to bring it under complete submission before the scope of the military operations was further extended. Accordingly, the Laṅkādhikārins Kitti, Bhūta and Mañju, starting from Vālivāsara-gāma, a meeting-place of many roads outside and to westward of the Dīghavāpi district, marched eastward and, after fighting at Savana-viyala, a stronghold with twelve gates, they turned northward up the coast, captured Gomayagāma and Chaggāma (*Sākāmam*) and arrived at Balapāsāṇa (between *Sākāmam* and *Malvattai*). Here they built a formidable fortification and garrisoned it with a strong detachment under the command of the Laṅkāpura Kitti. The main body now broke up into columns, all marching in a westerly direction (the reverse direction to that in which they had entered the Dīghavāpi district), and proceeded to subdue the Dīghavāpi district from end to end. The different columns fought a number of successful actions at various places, particularly Mālavatthuka (*Malvattai*), Vadhagāmakapāsāṇa (perhaps *Vaḍināgala*), Mulutta, Senaguttagāma (*Sengamuva*, between *Lahugala* and *Pottuvil*), Bolagāma, Vānaragāma

35. *Cul.* 75. 5 ; 45. 60 ; Sig. Graff., I, App. C.

36. *E.Z.*, V, 124-141.

and Galambatthikagāma; having completed the subjugation of Dighavāpi district, all the columns from the different sectors continued their westerly advance and converged on Hintālavanagāma (40 or 50 miles westward of Dighavāpi). Hintālavanagāma was stormed, but the defenders, resorting to their usual tactics, created once again a diversion in the rear of Parakkamabāhu's forces by attempting to retake the Dighavāpi district: the garrison left behind at Balapāsāna, reinforced by a column from the main body which made a forced march to its aid, foiled this attempt to renew the conflict. No further fighting took place in Dighavāpi district, but resistance continued in lower *Uva*, *Hambantota* and *Mātara* districts and ended only with the capture of Queen Sugala. The enforced peace was again disturbed five or six years later by another great uprising in Rohaṇa of which the Chronicles give no details: this, too, was suppressed by military action and thereafter Rohaṇa submitted to the rule of Parakkamabāhu I.³⁷

(C). Central and North Batticaloa

Near *Rūgam Tank* are some ruins bearing an inscription of the year 307 in the reign of Sirimeghavanna which states that Piyakaluṭa Vahira, the ancient name of the Vihāra on the site, was founded by Yaṭṭalaka Tisa Maharaja (Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa) who ruled over Rohaṇa about five centuries earlier. Other place-names occurring in the inscription are:—(i) Baḍalaka; (ii) Banaviṭiya and (iii) Cuḷuna.³⁸

Kusalānakanda, 2 miles north of the 85th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road, is a large, rocky hill with several inscribed caves and other ancient remains. One pre-Christian inscription is by the prince Gamiṇi Tiśa who was the son of Raja Abaya and the grandson of Uparaja Naga (Uparāja Mahānāga, brother of Devānampiya Tissa and first ruler of Rohaṇa): if Raja Abaya is Goṭṭhābhaya of the Chronicles, as is probable, then Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa and Goṭṭhābhaya were brothers. The place Cahanilaya is mentioned in another cave inscription of the same period. Four miles to west is another group of inscribed caves at *Kalūdupetiāna-malai* where one inscription is dated in the reign of an unnamed ruler who was the son of prince Abaya, probably identical with Raja Abaya of the *Kusalānakanda* inscription.³⁹

The artificial, drip-ledged cave at *Hennanēgala*, about 6 miles north-west of the 67th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road, is probably the largest cave in Ceylon. It bears a long inscription which contains the fish symbol of the *Kataragama* dynasty of early rulers who exercised authority over a part of Rohaṇa in the 3rd and early 2nd

centuries B.C. The following place-names occur in the inscription:—(i) Kaśatanagara; (ii) Giritiśagama; (iii) Karajinitisagama; (iv) Vilagama and (v) Malugama.

The immense rock, *Nuvaragala*, 6 miles south-east of the 67th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road, is mounted by an ancient, stone-paved roadway which climbs to the summit in an easy gradient, making the best use of the contours. On the summit was a cave monastery founded by king Saddhātissa whose inscription is on the main cave.⁴⁰

At Kokavāta in Kokavāta-janapada or Kokkādanavva, Mahāsena (275-301) founded a great vihāra and built a tank. *Kokkāgala* is a very conspicuous and lofty hill about 2 miles west of the 56th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road, but no remains of a large monastery are known in this locality.⁴¹

Bintänna Pattu and that part of *Ērāvūr Pattu* immediately to northward of *Rūgam-kulam* are hilly regions with no great stretches of flat land suitable for paddy cultivation, and these areas must always have been for the greater part under forest and sparsely inhabited. They have not yet been fully explored for ancient ruins.

Pre-Christian ruins exist at:—(i) *Veheragala*, 2½ miles north of the 67th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road; (ii) *Omunagala*, 7 miles north of the last-named and (iii) *Niyandavarāgala*, 4 miles north-west of the 77th mile on the *Badulla-Batticaloa* road.

Erāhuḷu-disābhāga of the 12th century corresponded roughly to modern *Ērāvūr Pattu*.⁴²

Mahāsena (275-301) destroyed the Brahmanical temples at Gokaṇṇa (*Trincomalee*), Kalanda (see under Chapter II (A)), and Erakāvilla, all on the eastern coast of Rohaṇa, and founded vihāras on their sites. The name Erakāvilla may be retained in modern *Eruvil*, 12 miles south of *Batticaloa*.⁴³

An inscription of Vasabha (67-111) at *Kūmacōlai*, 1 mile south-west of the 92nd mile on the *Badulla Batticaloa* road, mentions the Minister who governed the eastern coast (pajinakara) and the names of the fields donated to the vihāra at the site.

The ruins at *Veheraudamalai*, about 3 miles north-west of the 89th mile on the *Badulla Batticaloa* road, are named Dakapahanaka Vihara in an inscription of Mahādāthika-mahānāga *in situ*: an irrigation canal was granted to the vihāra.⁴⁴

40. Parker 445, 446.

41. *M.* 37. 42, 47; *M.T.* 685; *Puj.* 24.

42. *M.* 74. 91.

43. *M.* 37. 40, 41; *M.T.* 685, 32.

44. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, 10.

37. *Cul.* 74. 89-111, 169-180; 75. 1-13; 76. 1-6.

38. *A.I.C.* 24; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 238.

39. *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 240.

Pre-Christian ruins exist at:—(i) *Kalveṭṭavāna-kalūdu*, about 5 miles west-south-west of *Vākanēri*; (ii) *Kavudāgala* or *Small Quoin*, about 10 miles north-west of *Punānai* and (iii) *Katiraveli*, at the 44th mile on the *Batticaloa-Trincomalee* road.

(D). The Ancient Districts of Koṭṭhivāla and Koṭṭhasāra⁴⁵

Koṭṭhivāla district is also called Koṭṭivāta, Kontivāta, and Koṭagāma in Rohaṇa. Its area appears to have corresponded to the north-west projection of *Bintānna Division* in *Batticaloa district* and the adjacent region to north-east on both sides of the *Māduru Oya*. In it were:—

- (i) Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika, also called Maṇḍalacittaka, Kaḍaviṭṭi and Goḍigamuva, 3 yojanas or 12 gav (20 to 30 miles) from Kacchakatittha (*Mahaganlota*): this was the birthplace of the warrior Sūranimila⁴⁶;
- (ii) Piyaṅgalla or Piyaṅgalu Vihāra. In an inscription of the reign of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) at *Nelugala*, about 8 miles south of *Punānai*, the site is named Piyagalaka Ahalipavata Vihera and is probably identical with Piyaṅgalla of the Chronicle. The inscription gives the following other place-names:—(a) Ahalaviya, in Vaḍamanaka; (b) Aṅṇaka tank; (c) Toṭagamaka tank and canal and (d) Upalavila⁴⁷;
- (iii) Koṭṭhagāma or Koṭanagara. An inscription of the 10th century⁴⁸ found at Polonnaruva mentions certain places in the province of Girivaḍunnā-danaviya which was a considerable area extending to east and west of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. There were two districts within this province, that to west of the river being Maharat while the district to east of the river is not named. Maharat is identical with Mahārattṭha of the Chronicles and it extended westward from the river to the border of Kālāvāpi (*Kalāvāva*), so that its area included parts of present *Hurulu Palāta*, *Tamankaḍuwa* and *Mūtalē North*.⁴⁹ In Maharat and the district adjoining it on the east, were the two villages Maharakāya

and Koṭgam, both adjacent, the former in Maharat and the latter in the adjoining district. Maharakāya is undoubtedly Mahārukkha of the Chronicle, correctly identified by Codrington with modern *Mārakē* on the west bank of the river. Koṭgam is identical with Koṭṭhagāma, described as a rich village dedicated to the Bodhi Tree at Anurādhapura: Koṭanagara, one of the forts on the river reduced by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, is another name for it. Since Maharakāya and Koṭgam were adjacent villages but in different territorial districts, it is evident that some natural barrier separated them: this barrier was the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, Maharakāya (modern *Mārakē*) being on the west or left bank, and Koṭgam (modern *Koṭaganvela*) on the opposite east or right bank⁵⁰;

- (iv) Devattissagāma, granted by Mānavamma (684-718) to the Mahānēttapādika dwelling built by him for the Dhammaruci sect. (A vihāra named Mahānēttapādika in Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) is mentioned in the reign of Sena I: in the inscription of Kassapa V at Abhayagiri, the āvāsa named Mahanet-pā is referred to: and Mahānēttapāsāda is mentioned in the reign of Vijayabāhu IV. Mahānēttapādika, Mahanet-pā, Mahānēttapabbata and Mahānēttapāsāda all refer to one and the same religious establishment at Polonnaruva).⁵¹

About 1113, Vikkamabāhu, ruler of Rājaraṭṭha, defeated by the invader Viradeva near *Mannār*, reached Polonnaruva in flight, collected his valuables, and 'betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra', obviously with the intention of leaving the Island if he was forced to do so: but he succeeded in inveigling the invading troops into a great, swampy wilderness and there completely routed them. During the hostilities between Parakkamabāhu I and Gajabāhu II, Koṭṭhasāra district figured prominently. When Polonnaruva fell to Parakkamabāhu's troops, Gajabāhu 'fled at once and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra', again, obviously, to escape by ship if he was further pursued. When Gajabāhu died at *Kantalāy* his body was removed by his Ministers to Koṭṭhasāra and Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa was invited to come there with his army and take possession of Rājaraṭṭha. In the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) foreign, mercenary troops stationed in Koṭṭhasāra district staged an unsuccessful insurrection. Tamil invaders were in occupation of Koṭṭhasāra and several other districts around the ports in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271).⁵² Koṭṭhasāra is called Koṭasara or Koṭusara in the

45. This section was originally headed 'The ancient Koṭṭhasāra district' and in the text Koṭṭhivāla, Koṭṭavāta, Kontivāta, Koṭagāma and Koṭṭhasāra were equated as variant names for one and the same district. Professor Paranavitana, who read the typescript, was kind enough to suggest to me cogent reasons for identifying Koṭṭhasāra with modern Kōṭṭiyār, and I had no hesitation in altering my views accordingly. The section has been re-written on the basis of Professor Paranavitana's identification of Koṭṭhasāra.

46. *M.* 23. 19-22.; *M.T.* 448, 23; *E.M.* 23, 27; *Thv.* 130; *Raj.* 31.

47. *M.* 30. 29; *M.T.* 537, 23; *E.M.* 30, 65; *Thv.* 176.

48. *E.Z.* IV, 38, 44, 53.

49. *M.* 72. 163, 199.

50. *M.* 72. 11: 49. 16: 25. 13; *E.M.* 23. 27.

51. *M.* 48. 2: 50. 74: 88. 47; *E.Z.* 1. 56.

52. *M.* 61. 42: 70. 305: 71. 6: 74. 44: 83. 15

Sinhalese Chronicles.⁵³ On historical and other grounds, Dr. Paranavitana identifies the place Koṭṭhasāra with modern *Kōṭṭiyār* and Koṭṭhasāra district with, approximately, modern *Kōṭṭiyār Pattu*. In Koṭṭhasāra district were:—

- (i) Antaraviṭṭhika, a village granted to ascetic monks: near it was a great, swampy wilderness where the invader, Viradeva, was trapped and slain: there are several large swamps in the angle between the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and the *Virugal Āru*⁵⁴;
- (ii) Tannaru, probably close to the river: in it was a monastery⁵⁵;
- (iii) Uddhavāpi, northward of Tannaru⁵⁶;
- (iv) Vālupapatta, to west of Tannaru and possibly outside Koṭṭhasāra district⁵⁷;
- (v) Kohombagāma, a fortified place⁵⁸;
- (vi) Ambagāma⁵⁹;
- (vii) Tannitittha, a ford.⁶⁰

53. N.S. 23; *Thv.* 176; *Puj.* 42.

54. *M.* 60. 68; 61. 46; 70. 322.

55. *M.* 70. 313-319; 72. 175.

56. *M.* 72. 174.

57. *M.* 70. 318.

58. *M.* 70. 320.

59. *M.* 70. 321.

60. *M.* 70. 322.

CHAPTER III

THE MAHAVĀLI GAṅGA BETWEEN MAHIYAṅGAṆA AND THE SEA

The *Mahavāli Gaṅga* emerges from the hills into the lowlands, turns north about 7 miles above Mahiyaṅgaṇa and flows north-north-east to the sea at *Trincomalee*. This lower course is the river's flood-plain: it overflows its banks at least once a year and deposits a layer of silt on which today tobacco is cultivated. The *Vilas* or natural lakes, of which there are several from *Yakkurē* onwards, are depressions in the flood-plain which are re-filled with each overflow.

The fords and forts along this lower course of the Gaṅgā or Mahā Gaṅgā or Mahāvāluka Gaṅgā (*Mahavāli Gaṅga*), which was the boundary between Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa, receive detailed mention in connection with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's war with Eḷāra in the 2nd century B.C. and again during the civil war in the 12th century which preceded the accession of Parakkamabāhu I.¹ These fords and forts and the places associated with them are not described in the Chronicles in any geographical order and it is not possible, therefore, to localise several of them even approximately. They are:—

- (i) Ambatitthaka, also called Ambatoṭa and Ambatuva, the next fortress down the river from Mahiyaṅgaṇa: it was protected by a moat leading from the river and must have been situated a few miles downstream from Mahiyaṅgaṇa²;
- (ii) Khemārāma, also known as Khemavāpi, Satbēkoṭṭa and Satbākoṭṭa³;
- (iii) Talanīgāma, present *Talangamuva*, about 5 miles north of Mahiyaṅgaṇa⁴;
- (iv) Doṇa or Denagama⁵;
- (v) Sarogāmatittha, identified by Codrington as *Vilgamuwa*, about 15 miles north of Mahiyaṅgaṇa; close by was the village Vātīyamaṇḍapa⁶;

1. *M.* 25. 7-20; 72. 1-100.

2. *M.* 25. 7, 8; N.S. 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146.

3. *D.* 20. 25; *M.* 25. 10; N.S. 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146.

4. *M.* 72. 4.

5. *M.* 25. 11; N.S. 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146.

6. *M.* 72. 2, 32.

- (vi) Antarāsobbha, also called Aturaba and Āturoba: there was a vihāra called Antarasobbha, and later Agga-bodhi V (718-724) built the Deva Vihāra in Antarasobbha⁷;
- (vii) Pūnagāma⁸;
- (viii) Hālakola, also called Mahākōla⁹;
- (ix) Samīrukkha, present *Hāmbarava*¹⁰;
- (x) Mahārukkha, identified by Codrington as present *Mārakē* (see under Chapter II (D))¹¹;
- (xi) Nīlagāma. Mahārukkha (above) was close outside Nīlagiri of Nīlagallaka-raṭṭha which was on the west (left) bank of the river. Udaya I (797-801) built Nīlagalla Vihāra and constructed a canal which he granted to the Vihāra. Nīlagiri or Nīlagalla district was the place of assembly for attacks on districts to the south of it, and it extended over the hilly portion of *Laggala Pallēsiya Pattu*. Codrington's opinion is that Nīlagallaka district corresponded to present *Udispattu* in *Pāta Dumbara*. In Nīlagiri or Nīlagallaka district were the villages Sayakhettaka and Rattabeduma¹²;
- (xii) Nālisobbha, also called Nālikeravatthu, Nālikanagara and Polvatta, and identified by Codrington as modern *Polvatta*, about 25 miles north of Mahiyaṅga. Agga-bodhi II (604-614) built Neraḷu tank and Parakkama-bāhu I (1153-1186) restored Nālikeramahāthamba tank, both identical with *Polvatta*¹³;
- (xiii) Anantarabhaṇḍaka¹⁴;
- (xiv) Kāpatālavana¹⁵;
- (xv) Dīghābhayagallaka: Mahācūlī Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63) built the Viharās Dīghabāhugallaka and Abhayagallaka¹⁶;
- (xvi) Yakkhasūkara, identified by Codrington as *Yakkurē*, about 9 miles south of *Mahagantota*¹⁷;

7. *M.* 25. 11 : 48. 4 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37 ; *Thv.* 44 ; *E.H.B.* 66.

8. *M.* 72. 8.

9. *M.* 25. 11 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37 ; *Thv.* 146.

10. *M.* 72. 9.

11. *M.* 72. 11.

12. *M.* 49. 31 : 70. 10, 11, 14, 16, 20, 83 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37.

13. *M.* 25. 11 : 72. 14 : 79. 33 ; *E.M.* 25. 26 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Puj.* 28 ; *Raj.* 37 ; *Thv.* 146.

14. *M.* 72. 16.

15. *M.* 72. 19.

16. *M.* 25. 12 : 34. 8, 9 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37 ; *Thv.* 146.

17. *M.* 72. 21.

- (xvii) Vihāravejjasāla: the name suggests a monastic hospital¹⁸;
- (xviii) Kacchatittha or Kacchakatittha or Kasatōṭa, identified by Geiger with present *Mahagantota*. Kacchatittha is first mentioned in Paṇḍukābhaya's reign in the 5th century B.C.: it was 9 yojanas (70 to 85 miles) from *Mihintalē*. In a 1st century inscription at *Mīnvila*, it is called Kahagamakatōṭa (see under *Antaragaṅgāya* below): Dappula II (815-831) built Kacchavāla Vihāra for the Pāmsukūlins. Tungam-Kaṭupīṭiya was on the Anurādhapura side of Kasatōṭa¹⁹;
- (xix) Assamaṇḍala. Asmaṇḍalapīṭiya is given as one of the old boundaries of *Sēruvāvila* Vihāra and if it is the same as Assamaṇḍala the ford was in the lower reaches of the river. The legends connected with *Sēruvā Vihāra*, whose ancient name was Vilgam Vihāra, are contained in the *Dhātuvamsa*²⁰;
- (xx) Sakkarālaya Gaṅgā, a major tributary or one of the delta branches of the river: it was bridged and on its east bank was the Sakkunda grove²¹;
- (xxi) Koṭanagara, identical with Koṭṭhagāma and Koṭgam, modern *Koṭaganvela*: (see under Chapter II (D))²²;
- (xxii) Vahiṭṭha, also called Vasiṭṭhagama, Mahāveṭṭa, Veṭhanuvara and Veṭhaka²³;
- (xxiii) Cullanāga²⁴;
- (xxiv) Burudatthalī²⁵;
- (xxv) Nigunḍivālūkā: this is identical with Nikavili and Nikuvilika mentioned in 1st century inscriptions at *Molāhitiyēvelēgala* and *Dūvegala* respectively. Nikavāli occurs also in a 10th century inscription. The situation of the place should be east of the river and south of *Dimbulāgala*, but there is a modern *Nikagollāva* 3 miles north of *Mārakē*²⁶;
- (xxvi) Hālavahānaka, also called Bhettāgama²⁷;

18. *M.* 72. 25.

19. *M.* 10. 58 : 23. 6 : 25. 12 : 49. 80 : 72. 25 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 36, 37 ; *Thv.* 107.

20. *M.* 72. 27 ; *Dhv.* 27, 48.

21. *M.* 72. 29, 30.

22. See Chapter II (D).

23. *M.* 25. 13 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37 ; *Thv.* 146.

24. *M.* 72. 34.

25. *M.* 72. 36.

26. *M.* 72. 37 ; *C.A.* III. 77, 205 ; *E.Z.* II. 25.

27. *M.* 25. 13 ; *E.M.* 25. 28.

- (xxvii) Bānāgāma, also called Bhāṇakagama and Bāranakha²⁸;
- (xxviii) Yācitagāma²⁹;
- (xxix) Hillapattakakhaṇḍa: Parakkamabāhu I restored the tank of this name³⁰;
- (xxx) Gāmaṇi, also called Gāmaṇigāma and Gāmaṇigam: Eḷāra's fortress commander here was named Gāmaṇi, the inference being that a Sinhalese prince in this instance was on the side of Eḷāra³¹;
- (xxxi) Titthagāma³²;
- (xxxii) Kumbagāma, also called Kumbhabāṇa and Kappakana-gara³³;
- (xxxiii) Mālāgāma, identified by Codrington as *Mālagamuva-vāva* in the *Vāsgamuva* area: Saddhātissa built Māladeṇiya taṅk³⁴;
- (xxxiv) Goḷabāṇa: Goḷabāgamu and Goḷobāgama occur in medieval inscriptions³⁵;
- (xxxv) Nandigāma, also called Chindagāma: the Mahāvamsa says that Subha (60-67) built Nandigāmaka Vihāra at the mouth of the river, but the *Ṭikā* locates it near Kaccakatittha (*Mahagantota*)³⁶;
- (xxxvi) Hedillakhaṇḍagāma was west of the river and opposite it was the ford named Billagāma: there is a *Beligam Oya* just south of *Hāmbarava*³⁷;
- (xxxvii) Khānugāma or Khāṇuka³⁸;
- (xxxviii) Dipāla³⁹;
- (xxxix) Mayūrapāsāṇa, a stronghold near one of the lesser known fords⁴⁰;
- (xl) Vallitittha, close to Mayūrapāsāṇa above⁴¹;

28. *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146.

29. *M.* 72. 40.

30. *M.* 72. 41; 79. 37.

31. *M.* 25. 13; *N.S.* 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146; *Sig. Graff.*, I, App. C.

32. *M.* 72. 42.

33. *M.* 25. 14; *E.M.* 25. 29; *N.S.* 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146.

34. *M.* 72. 50; *Puj.* 18.

35. *M.* 72. 52; *E.Z.*, I. 200: III. 81.

36. *M.* 25. 7-20; 35. 58; 72. 44; *E.M.* 25. 30; *M.T.* 648, 5; *N.S.* 26; *Thv.* 146.

37. *M.* 72. 45-49.

38. *M.* 23. 14; *N.S.* 26; *Thv.* 146.

39. *M.* 72. 54.

40. *M.* 72. 74.

41. *M.* 72. 82.

- (xli) Tamba, also called Tambunna⁴²;
- (xlii) Jambu or Dambunnaru⁴³;
- (xliii) Māgalla, mentioned in only one Sinhalese Chronicle⁴⁴;
- (xliv) Unnama⁴⁵;
- (xlv) Śahassatittha, identified by Geiger as present *Dāstoṭa*, south of Polonnaruva: in medieval times the ceremony of ordination of monks was held on an island, now called *Kālinga-nuvara*, near *Dāsto'a*⁴⁶;
- (xlvi) Rihaltota⁴⁷;
- (xlvii) Muṇḍavāka.⁴⁸

Dolaṇapabbata, also called Dolaṇapabbata, is mentioned in the 5th century B.C. as one of the fortresses occupied by Paṇḍukābhaya, and has been identified as *Dolagala*, a large hill about 10 miles eastward of *Hāmbarava* on the river.⁴⁹

Dhūmarakkhapabbata or Udumbarapabbata or Udumbarasālapabbata is modern *Dimbulāgala* or *Gunner's Quoin*, the most prominent hill in *Tamankaduwa*. Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have lived there for 4 years in the 5th century B.C., and a pond near its foot, doubtless one of the *vilas* which lie between it and the river, was called Tumbariyangaṇa. Although the foundation of the Vihāra is not recorded, the numerous inscriptions on the many caves on its slopes establish its origin late in the 3rd or early in the 2nd century B.C. The *Ṭikā* says that the Vihāra was 9 yojanas (70 to 85 miles) from Anurādhapura and one yojana (7 to 9 miles) from the sea, and that the Lohapāsāda at Anurādhapura was visible from it: the actual distance from the sea in a direct line is about 28 miles, while the distance from Anurādhapura by road could not have been less than 80 miles. Mahānāma (406-428) added to the buildings at the Vihāra and presented them to the Theravāda school. An inscription of Sundaramahādevī, Queen of Vikkamabāhu (1111-1132), incised on a cave near the summit, names the monastery Dumbulāgala and says that 500 monks were in residence there: the Queen repaired the dangerous pathway joining the two summit caves, Hiru-maha-leṇa and Sanda-maha-leṇa, and re-named the former Kālinga-leṇa. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) carried out a purge of the religious order with the help of the Mahāthera Kassapa of Audumbaragiri or Udumbaragiri or Odumbara Vihāra (*Dimbulāgala*).

42. *M.* 25. 14, 15; *M.T.* 474, 509; *N.S.* 26; *Raj.* 37; *Thv.* 146. Tambunna combines the two place-names, Tamba and Unnama.

43. *M.* 25. 15; *Thv.* 146.

44. *N.S.* 26.

45. *M.* 25. 14.

46. *M.* 87. 71; 89. 47-64.

47. *Sdhk.* 537.

48. *Ibid.*, 600.

49. *M.* 10. 44; *M.T.* 287, 28.

Again, in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) it was a Mahāthera of this Vihāra who assisted the king to restore order in the Saṅgha.⁵⁰

At *Mutugala*, close to the right bank of the river and about 6 miles north-east of *Mahagantota*, there are the ruins of an ancient cave monastery and inscriptions dating from 2nd B.C. to 7th A.C. The inscriptions name the following places:—(i) *Toḍikaṭana*; (ii) (Pa)na-gamaka tank; (iii) *Valagarina* and (iv) *Vijiribupa(va)tagala Vehera*. In the river, close to *Mutugala*, is the *Ānaikallu* or *Galaliyā*, a stone, life-size sculpture in the full round of an elephant: this sculpture once stood in a monastery through which the river, by a change of course, has cut its way, submerging some of the structures.

At *Kurunākallu*, about 3 miles north-east of *Mutugala*, an inscription of 2nd B.C. records the grant of a cave by the village corporation of *Dipikulika*.⁵¹

A pre-Christian inscription at *Lunuvaranīyagala*, 2 miles south of the 41st mile on the *Vālaicēna-Manampīṭiya* road, testifies to the existence of an ancient monastery at the site.

The region named *Antaragaṅgāya*, called *Ataragaga* in an early inscription, has been identified by *Paranavitana* as the area between the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and the *Mādurū Oya*.⁵² In this district were:—

- (1) *Peḷagāma Vihāra*, built by *Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa* (B.C. 44-22) and identified by *Paranavitana* from a 1st century inscription *in situ*, in which it is called *Pilipavata Vihara*, with the present ruins at *Mōlāhiṭṭiyēvelēgala*, south of *Dimbulāgala*. There are four inscriptions at this site dating from 1st B.C. to 2nd A.C. and the place-names mentioned therein are:—(i) *Dapalaga(maka)* tank; (ii) *Gaṇa(ma)ṭaka* canal; (iii) *Katelavasaka* tank; (iv) *Ahuravika*; (v) *Piḍavika* tank and (vi) *Nikavili*, for which see above⁵³;
- (2) *Vaṇṇaka* canal, constructed by *Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa* (B.C. 44-22). At *Koṭaveheragala*, near *Horivila*, an inscription of king *Mahādāṭhikamahānāga* (7-19) names the site *Tisa Vihara* and grants to it the *Va(ṇa)ka* canal and the village *Aligamaka*.⁵⁴
- (3) *Ambadugga* or *Dugga* tank built by *Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa*.⁵⁵

50. *M.* 10. 53. 62: 37. 213; *M.T.* 287, 32: 505. 14; *N.S.* 22; *E.Z.* I. 136: II. 196, 274.

51. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1897, 11; *C.A.* III, 211; *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, New Series, V, 71, note 18.

52. *E.Z.* III, 154.

53. *M.* 34. 32; *E.Z.* III. 154; *C.A.* III. 77.

54. *M.* 34. 32; *C.A.*, III. 205, 206; *E.Z.*, III. 157, note 4.

55. *M.* 34. 33.

- (4) *Bhayoluppala* tank, also called *Setuppala* and *Bahuppala*, built by the same king.⁵⁶
- (5) *Kahagamakatōṭa* (synonymous with *Kacchakatittha* above) and *Humana-atagamakatōṭa*, two fords situated in *Ataragaga* (*Antaragaṅgāya*), as stated in an inscription of *Bhāṭikatissa* (143-167) at *Mīnvila*.
- (6) *Antarāgaṅga Vihāra* to which *Jeṭṭhatissa* III (628) donated the village of *Cullamātika*.⁵⁷

At *Mīnvila*, a swamp on the west bank of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, almost opposite *Kandakādu*, are six inscriptions dating from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.C.: close by are the ruins now known as *Sōmāvātī Cetiya*. These inscriptions name, in addition to *Kahagamakatōṭa* and *Humana-atagamakatōṭa* already mentioned above, the following:—(i) (Pu)daji-nīyagama canal; (ii) *Rajali* canal; (iii) *Raja-alipitiya* or *Raja-alavitiya*, the field irrigated by the canal, the present *Mīnvila* swamp and (iv) *Havitaka* field. The river, which is very broad in this locality, was apparently dammed at this early period by a temporary timber dam, renewed after every flood: even in later times no attempt was made to construct a stone or earth dam in this broad stretch of the river. At the neighbouring *Sōmāvātī Cetiya* there is an inscription recording the foundation of the *Vihāra*, which is named *Pajjini-Nakala-araba-vihara*, by the prince *Nakala*, son of king *Mahāllaka Nāga* (136-143): another, later inscription of *Kanittṭha Tissa* at the site names the *Cetiya*, *Maṇi-agaya-cetiya*. The present name and so-called traditions about this site are therefore spurious.⁵⁸

Cittapabbata or *Sitpavparvata* was in or near the eastern district of *Elāra's* kingdom which was bounded by the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. An inscription of the 2nd century at *Tōnikallu* or *Tōnigala*, near *Kandakādu*, about 3 miles east of the river, names the site *Citanakaraka Vihara* and records the grant to it of the tank named (Sa)marapatiya. In a later 6th century inscription the monastery is named *Maha-Cittanakara*. *Cittanakara* was presumably close to *Cittapabbata*, modern *Tōnikallu*.⁵⁹

Pācīnakhaṇḍarāji, also called *Kaḍaroda* (but erroneously located to south of *Anurādhapura* in the *Rājāvaliya*), was near *Cittapabbata*. *Pācīnakhaṇḍarāji* or *Khaṇḍarāja Vihāra* was a woodland solitude which existed in early times. *Upatissa* (365-406) restored the *Vihāra*. *Pācīnakhaṇḍarāji* was a sub-district to north-east of *Polonnaruva* on the west bank of the river.⁶⁰

56. *D.* 20. 35; *M.* 34. 33; *M.T.* 628, 14.

57. *M.* 44. 100.

58. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 29.

59. *M.* 23. 4; *C.A.* III, 214; *E.Z.*, V. 80; *Thv.* 15.

60. *M.* 23. 4; 37. 186; *Thv.* 129; *Raj.* 30; *E.H.B.* 105, 111.

Vasabha (67-111) built Cāthamaṅgaṇa tank, also called Mangūṇuāḷa. An inscription of Udaya II (887-898) at *Nocciṭṭāna*, near *Manampitiya*, mentions the village Muṅṅūṇuēḷuvagama, irrigated by the waters of Valaraka Gelgama. Cāthamaṅgaṇa, Mangūṇuāḷa and Muṅṅūṇuēḷuvagama all stand for the present tank near *Nocciṭṭāna*. Gelgama is modern *Galēgama*, about 2 miles away (Bell).⁶¹

At the picturesque ruins at *Kumbukkandana*, on the west bank of the river a few miles north of *Mārakē*, there are several inscriptions of the 4th to 7th centuries. The place Tabaraya, the residence of the district chieftain (*raṭiya*), is mentioned.

Aggabodhi I (571-604) was the original builder of the Maṇimekhala dam, now called *Minipe*, on the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. Sena II (853-887) is also credited with its construction: probably he restored it. The district was called Maṇimekhala after the dam. In a 13th century inscription at *Minipe* the dam is called *Minibē*: the inscription says that its original builder was the Minister, *Mēkit-Nā*, that it was breached in the 20th year (1173) of Parakkamabāhu I, and that it was restored by the General *Bhāma* in 1208. In the reign of the invader *Māgha* (1214-1235) a Sinhalese chieftain built a fortress in the Maṇimekhala district on the *Gaṅgādoṇi* hill, present *Gaṇḍeniya* about 15 miles south of *Minipe*, and kept the invaders at bay.⁶²

Mahāsena (275-301) built the great canal named Pabbatanta on the river.⁶³ For an account of the irrigation system on the lower course of the river, reference should be made to the paper entitled, 'The Irrigation Works of Parakkamabāhu I', in the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, 'The Polonnaruwa Period', Volume IV, 59 to 65.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

Trincomalee itself contains one of the largest and safest natural harbours in the world, but it did not achieve importance as one of the great trading ports of Ceylon. The landing place of Paṇḍuvāsudeva in the 5th century B.C. is given as *Gokaṇṇatittha* at the mouth of the Mahākandara river: therefore, Mahākandara is another name for *Gaṅgā* or Mahāgaṅgā or Mahāvāluka Gaṅgā, the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. Paṇḍuvāsudeva's queen is said to have landed at *Goṇagāma*: this is a synonym or slip for *Gokaṇṇagāma*, modern *Trincomalee*. On the coast of the eastern sea, on the site of a Brahmanical temple which he destroyed, Mahāsena (275-301) built the *Gokaṇṇa Vihāra*. A place by the *Gokaṇṇa* sea is mentioned as the scene of a manifestation of the *Nāga* king: again, a manifestation of the god *Skanda* riding a peacock is said to have appeared to *Mānavamma* who was 'seated on the bank of the river in the neighbourhood of *Gokaṇṇaka*'. Aggabodhi V (718-724) erected a Practising House in *Gokaṇṇaka Vihāra*. Parakkamabāhu, in the 12th century, for the defence of the line of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, disposed his forces 'from *Sarogāma* (*Vilgamuva*) to *Gokaṇṇa* (*Trincomalee*)'. A Sanskrit inscription, dated on Friday, the 14th of April, 1223, records the landing of *Coḍagaṅga-deva* at *Gokaṇṇa*. 'The etymological equivalent in Sinhalese of *Gokaṇṇa* is *Gōṇa*, and the seaport or district of *Gōṇa* figures in the wars which Parakkamabāhu II waged to wrest *Rājaraṭṭha* from *Māgha*. *Gōṇa* is the main element in the Tamil *Tirukkoṇamalai*, which has been anglicised as *Trincomalee*. *Tiru* means "sacred" and *malai* "hill", the name thus meaning "the sacred hill of *Koṇa*", which last results from the transliteration into Tamil characters of the Sinhalese *Gōṇa*'.¹

Copper is said to have been discovered in the reign of *Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137) at *Tambapiṭṭha* or *Tambaviṭi*, 7 *yojanas* or 28 *gav* (50 to 65 miles) east of *Anurādhapura* on the further (east) bank of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. *Tambala* is probably the same place, but not *Tambaviṭṭhi* where the *Cōla* general was captured after his defeat at *Palatupāṇa*. *Tambapiṭṭha* and *Tambala* are represented in modern *Tambalagam*. Close to and east of *Tambala* was *Tisucullasa-gāma*.²

The village *Abagamiya* is mentioned in a pre-Christian cave inscription at *Nācceri-malai*, near *Kuccavēli*. In a second inscription

61. *M.* 35. 95; *Puj.* 21; *Raj.* 47; *E.Z.*, II. 8; *C.A.*, IV. 1, 2.

62. *M.* 42. 34; 51. 72; 81. 7-9; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1940-45, 40; *E.Z.*, V. 159.

63. *M.* 37. 50.

1. *M.* 8. 12, 24; 37. 41; 41. 79; 48. 5; 57. 5; 71. 18; *M.T.* 269, 23; 658, 32; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1946, 17; *E.Z.*, V. 170-173.

2. *M.* 28. 16; 45. 78; 58; 21; *Thv.* 162.

of the same period here, the donor was the grandson of a king and the son of a prince named Daraka.³

Pre-Christian inscriptions exist also near *Gōmarankaḍavala* and *Kaṇṇitavimalai*, near *Pulmōḍḍai*, as well as at *Iccilampattai*, near the 50th mile on the *Batticaloa-Trincomalee* road.⁴

Inscriptions of the 1st century at *Nilapānīkkankulam-malai*, about 5 miles north-west of *Kuccavēli*, name the site *Kakelakuvahanaka* Vihera and grant to it the Hayigaraya tank. *Kākālaya* district, also called *Kauḍāpulu* and *Kavuḍāvulu*, an area approximating to present *Kaḍḍukulam Pattu*, was under occupation by Tamil invaders in the 13th century. Mahāsena (275-301) built *Kavuḍumāgalu* tank.⁵

The ruins at *Nātanār Kōvil*, near *Periyakulam*, were an ancient Buddhist monastery known as *Velagama* or *Velagāmi* or *Velgam* Vihāra. In an inscription of Bhātikatissa (143-167) on the adjoining hill, the site is called *Abagara Vihara* at *Velagama*. During the Cōla conquest from 993 to 1070, the Hindu invaders extended their patronage and protection to this Buddhist Vihāra, made donations to the shrine of the Buddha, renovated the buildings, and re-named the temple, after their king, *Rājarājaperumpallī*. When Cōla occupation ended, the Sinhalese Buddhists resumed possession of the temple. The present ruins exhibit a Hindu architecture and are the only example of a Tamil Vihāra or Buddhist Paḷli in Ceylon. Nissaṅka Malla visited the Vihāra.⁶

The ruined site at *Kalkulam*, about 5 miles south-west of *Kīlivedḍi*, is called *Garimahālaka Mahāvahara* in a 4th century inscription *in situ*. The foundation of the Vihāra is ascribed by the inscription to Duṭṭaka Gamiṇi Aba Raja (Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, B.C. 161-137), and the following place names are mentioned:—(i) *Garimahālaka* fields, and (ii) *Dahaḍiya*. In a 9th century inscription at the same site, the construction of *Uḍgala dāgāba* is recorded.⁷

Girihaṇḍu Vihāra is mentioned as the place where the two merchants who secured the Hair Relics after the Buddha's cremation enshrined them in a *Cetiya*. This legend is narrated in a 7th century Sanskrit inscription at *Nītupatpāṇa*, near *Tiriyāy*, about 30 miles north of *Trincomalee*, where the ruins include caves with pre-Christian inscriptions and a beautiful *Vaṭa-dā-gē*. The Sanskrit inscription names the site *Girikaṇḍika Cetiya*. Near *Girikaṇḍa Vihāra* was the village *Vattakālaka*. *Vasabha* (67-111) is said to have constructed *Nītupatpāṇa* tank, which is the name now borne by a large, breached tank in the neighbourhood, but the modern name is

probably of recent origin. *Vijayabāhu I* (1055-1110) repaired *Girikaṇḍaka Vihāra*.⁸

Sanḡilla was a village not far from the mouth of the *Mahavēli Gaṅga*.⁹

Gaṅgātāṭa, also called *Gaṅgatalā* (present *Kantalāy*) tank was built by *Aggabodhi II* (604-614). Brahmins were established at *Kantalāy* in the 11th and 12th centuries. It probably became a centre of Hindu influence during the Cōla occupation (993-1070) but that influence did not cease when the foreign occupation ended, because 'the Sinhalese kings who succeeded the Cōlas maintained the Brahmins and patronised their shrines. The Śaiva shrine at *Kantalāy*, since it was called *Vijayarāja Iśvaram*, must have been founded by *Vijayabāhu I*, or, at least, under his patronage'. In an inscription of the reign of *Vijayabāhu I* (1055-1110) recording a gift by a Brahmin, the place is named *Kantalāy alias Vijayarāja-caturvedi-maṅgalam*. An inscription of *Parakkamabāhu I* (1153-1186) gives the length of the bund of *Gaṅgatalā* tank as 4,300 *riyan*. *Nissaṅka Malla* built the *Pārvaṭi Alms Hall* at *Gaṅgatalā*, also called *Caturveda-Brahmapura*, and he declared the tank a sanctuary for animals. In the 13th century Tamil invaders were in occupation of *Gaṅgatalā* district.¹⁰

The port from which *Parakkamabāhu's* expeditionary force set sail for Burma in 1164/65 was *Pallavayaṅka*, identified by *Codrington* as modern *Palvakkī*, 4 miles north of *Kuccavēli*.¹¹

Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) founded the village *Pāṇḍuvijayagāma* in honour of his successful invasion of the *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom. (After great initial success his army was defeated by the Cōlas and his generals captured and decapitated, but this stage of the campaign is not recorded in the *Cūlavamsa* but in the Cōla inscriptions). An inscription of *Nissaṅka Malla* (1187-1196) at *Galmāṭiyāna* tank, near *Tampalakāmam*, records that he had the tank *Pāṇḍuvijayakulam* constructed in one day: this refers to *Galmāṭiyāna* tank and cannot mean original construction but some major repair, because *Parakkamabāhu's* new village must have included a tank.¹²

For *Kōṭṭiyār Pattu*, see Chapter II (D), *Koṭṭhasāra* district.

8. *M.* 60. 60; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 117; *Puj.* 21, 184; *Raj.* 46; *E.Z.*, IV, 151, 160; 314; *E.H.B.* 122.

9. *M.* 41. 69-76.

10. *M.* 42. 67; *Puj.* 28, 42; *N.S.* 23; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1927, 1928, II, 142, 290; IV, 195.

11. *M.* 76. 46.

12. *M.* 77. 105; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 199.

3. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, 18.

4. *C.J.S.* (G) II, 117, 118; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 36, Nos. 5-9.

5. *M.* 83, 15; *Puj.* 24, 42; *N.S.* 23.

6. *M.* 60. 62; *E.Z.* II, 177; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 199; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, 8; 1953, 9; 1954, 14.

7. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, 14, 19; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 247.

CHAPTER V

THE BADULLA DISTRICT

(A) Upper Ūva

The western portion of the *Badulla* district is a mountainous region with its highest peaks rising to over 7,000 feet, but, climatically, it is different from the rest of the montane zone in that it receives a mild rainfall during the south-west monsoon (May to September). Extensive stretches of the mountain slopes are *patana* or savannah lands whose only cover is coarse grass: but the valleys exhibit a luxuriant vegetation and are often forested. The quartz artefacts of pre-historic man are found on these *patanas* which are not of recent origin. There is no evidence that the upper montane zone above about 3,500 feet was populated prior to the 10th century. There were, doubtless, routes over the mountains: one such, referred to in an inscription of the year 1093/94 but in existence much earlier, was the pilgrim route from Hūva (*Ūva*) to Sunanakūṭa (*Adam's Peak*).¹

Epigraphical evidence of the occupation of the lower montane zone of the *Badulla* district in pre-Christian times is available in the inscribed caves, the dwellings of early Buddhist monks, at (i) *Bōgoḍa*, about 7 miles north-west of *Badulla*, (ii) *Māṭigahatānna*, about 20 miles by road north of *Passara*, and (iii) *Kandē Vihāra*, high above *Vāllavāya*. The movement into the hills around *Bōgoḍa* and *Māṭigahatānna* was from the Mahiyaṅgaṇa area up the valleys of the *Uma Oya* and the *Loggal Oya*: while *Kandē Vihāra* was reached by following the *Kirinda Oya*.² Historical evidence of the existence of Mutiṅgaṇa or Mutiyaṅgaṇa Vihāra at *Badulla* is supplied by the Pali Commentaries although this well-known Vihāra is not mentioned in the historical chronicles.³

Hatthibhoga-janapada was a district in Southern Malaya, probably in the lower hills of *Ūva*: in it was Paṅgura Vihāra. The place Ātavaka mentioned in the Sīgiri Graffiti is the Sinhalese equivalent of Hatthibhoga.⁴

Geiger identifies Lokagalla, also called Lōkā, as a locality in the valley of the *Loggal Oya* which flows from *Passara* to the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. In its neighbourhood was Sākhāpatta or Sāpatagamu which Codrington locates as modern *Hāpatgamuva*, 8 miles north-west of *Badulla*, on the *Uma Oya*. Both Lokagalla and Sākhāpatta were in

Dhanumaṇḍala district which Geiger identifies as approximately the present *Viyaḷuva Kōralē* in *Viyaḷuva Division*. The route taken by Parakkamabāhu's troops, who were fighting their way through with the captured Tooth and Bowl Relics from Khiragāma (modern *Yudagaṇāva*) to *Dhanumaṇḍala* was:—(i) Tanagaluka, for which Codrington proposes *Yakurāva*; (ii) Sukhagiriḡāma, identified by Codrington as *Guruheḷa*; (iii) Kaṭadorāvāda (not the same as Kaṇṭakadvāravāta); (iv) Ambagalla and (v) Taṇḍulapatta or Taṇḍuleyya, which may be *Kūruvēpotakanda*, near *Madulsīma*. Bokusala was probably near Taṇḍulapatta.⁵

(B) Lower Ūva

Lower Ūva is in the low-country dry zone and is a hilly region, isolated hills as well as hill-ranges frequently rising from the level ground. The main rivers which flow through it are the *Kirinda Oya*, *Mānik Gaṅga*, *Kumbukkan Oya*, *Hūḍa Oya* and *Gal Oya*. The ancient irrigation system was not, however, elaborate or considerable, there being no great tanks and no river-diversion schemes of any great magnitude.

Mahiyaṅgaṇa or Mahiyapokkhala was on the bank of the Gaṅgā (*Mahavāli Gaṅga*) and the place is first mentioned in association with the story of one of the Buddha's visits to Ceylon. It stood in the Mahānāga garden which was three yojanas long and one yojana wide. The garden was the customary meeting-place of the Yakkhas: here the Buddha appeared, banished the Yakkhas to Giridīpa, and consecrated the spot where the Cetiya was afterwards built. After the Buddha's Nibbāna, the thera Sarabhu brought the Collar-bone Relic to Mahiyaṅgaṇa, enshrined it around with cream-coloured stones, and built over it a Cetiya 12 cubits (18 feet) high. Uddhacūlābhaya, nephew of king Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) raised the Cetiya to a height of 30 cubits (45 feet). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137), when making war with the Daṃilas before his accession, completed the Cetiya by raising it to a height of 80 cubits (120 feet). (The *Rājāvaliya* has a variant version of the foregoing narrative). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya fought the first battle of his campaign against Eḷāra at Mahiyaṅgaṇa and defeated the local Daṃila commander, Chatta. Vohārika Tissa (209-231) erected a parasol on the Cetiya. In the reign of Vijayakumāra, three Lambakaṇṇa nobles who subsequently became kings, lived together at Mahiyaṅgaṇa. Sena II (853-887) donated a maintenance village to the Vihāra, and so did Kassapa IV (898-914). In the *Soraboravāva* inscription of Udaya IV, dated 946, the king records his visit to Miyuḡuṇ-mahaveher. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored the Vihāra and granted it villages. In an inscription of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) the district is called Miyāṅguṇu-bim. Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) records in the *Galpota*

1. *M.* 60. 64-65.

2. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 10; 1952, 42, No. 16.

3. *E.H.B.* 66, 115.

4. *M.* 35. 44; *E.H.B.* 115; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

5. *M.* 70. 14-18: 74. 78, 79, 162-169; *E.Z.*, I. 136.

inscription that he effected repairs to Miyanguṇu-mahavehera. Parakkamabāhu VI (1410-1468) restored the Cetiya and re-plastered it.⁶

In the *Sorabara* inscription of Udaya IV (946), the Hopiṭigamu sub-division in Sorabara division is mentioned. During the hostilities between Gajabāhu and Parakkamabāhu in the 12th century, Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa changed sides and encamped at Sobara (*Sorabara*) with his army in order to attack Gajabāhu in the rear.⁷

The cave monastery at *Olagāṅgala*, about 10 miles to the south of Mahiyaṅgaṇa, is of very early date. The pre-Christian inscriptions there record benefactions to the Saṅgha by (i) Raja Śiva, and (ii) prince Śiva, son of prince Śiva and grandson of Raja Śiva : Raja Śiva may be Mahāsiva, the brother of Devānāmpiya Tissa, or a local ruler of this part of Rohaṇa early in the 2nd century B.C.⁸

In the course of their march from Polonnaruva towards *Bibilē* to subdue Rohaṇa, the first hostile place reached by Parakkamabāhu's troops was Barabbala which must have been in the vicinity of Mahiyaṅgaṇa. Further along the route, actions were fought at (i) Kaṇṭakavana ; (ii) Ambalala ; (iii) Sava, for which Codrington suggests *Havanavāva*, 5 miles east-north-east of *Pangaragamma* ; and (iv) Divācandantabāṭava, where the advance was brought to a halt by powerful resistance. This last-named place was a forested valley, 2 to 4 miles long, hemmed in on both sides by high hills, and defended by a succession of strong-points : Codrington suggests the neighbourhood of *Hāpola*, 7 miles west-north-west of *Bibilē*, where the topography fits the description in the Chronicle. After being reinforced, the troops broke through the fortifications and continued their advance through (v) Kimsukavattuka ; (vi) Vaṭarakkhatthali ; (vii) Dāthāvaḍḍhana ; and (viii) Sahodara, which Codrington places near *Bibilē*.⁹

Codrington has discussed the route taken by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's army, as described in two Sinhalese Chronicles, from Mahāgāma (*Tissamahārāma*) to Mahiyaṅgaṇa in the 2nd century B.C. The total distance was about 90 miles and the march is said to have been accomplished in eight stages. The halting places, after leaving Mahāgāma, were, in consecutive order :—

- (i) Kaluvaḷa, in the vicinity of *Kataragama* or *Karavila* ;
- (ii) Ēhaḷa, somewhere close to *Galgē* on the *Kataragama-Buttala* track ;
- (iii) Gikitta, in the neighbourhood of *Tittavāl Āra* or *Petiyan Āra* on the same track ;

6. *D.* I. 52 ; *M.* I. 21-42 : 25. 7 : 36. 33, 58 : 51. 74 : 52. 14 : 60. 59, 63 : 91. 29 ; *Raj.* 36 ; *E.Z.*, II. 119 : III. 78 : IV. 208.

7. *M.* 70. 187 ; *E.Z.*, III. 78.

8. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1952. 33, 41.

9. *M.* 74. 51-78.

- (iv) Guthala or Guttala, modern *Buttala* : this was an important place in ancient times and its limits may well have extended some miles to the south of the present village ;
- (v) Girigama or Kirigama, identified by Paranavitana with modern *Yudagaṇāva* ;
- (vi) Niyamulla, in the vicinity *Kinnarabōva-Bakinigahavela-Mādagama* ;
- (vii) Mādagam Uyantōṭa or Uyantōṭa, a ford, as the name signifies, across the *Gal Oya*, probably near *Kanulvela* ;
- (viii) Tungam Kasaṭapiṭiya, probably near *Ūraṇiya* ;
- (ix) Mahiyaṅgaṇa, the destination.

This was a well-established route, if not in Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time, certainly later, and it was marked in the 12th century by gāvuta pillars, several of which have been discovered. Contrary to popular belief today, which appears to be of recent origin and receives no support from the older works, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's march did not include a stop at *Kataragama*, which, although it was a well-known place associated with a royal dynasty and the Buddhist religion from very early times, is not mentioned as a place on the route.¹⁰

In a 7th century inscription at *Nayinnēvela Vihāra*, near *Bibilē*, the temple is named *Daḷaṭapava Vahara*. The place *Bejala* is mentioned in a 6th century inscription at *Ṭāngoḍa*, also near *Bibilē*.¹¹

Kājaragāma, modern *Kataragama*, was the seat, in and prior to the very early part of the 2nd century B.C., of a family of kṣatriyas, who, along with another family of kṣatriyas of Candanagāma (also in Rohaṇa), were accorded a place of distinction at the ceremonial planting of the Bodhi Tree at Anurādhapura by Devānāmpiya Tissa in B.C. 246. Saplings of the tree were afterwards planted at Kājaragāma and Candanagāma. The Dhātuvamsa relates that Goṭṭabhaya, ruler of Rohaṇa early in the 2nd century B.C., slew 'the ten brother-kings (dasabhātikas) of Kadaragama' and, afterwards, by way of expiation, built a large number of Vihāras. The cave inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. at *Bōvattagala* (in *Batticaloa district*) and at *Koṭṭadāmuḥela* (a few miles to west but in *Hambantōṭa district*), are by the descendants in the third and fourth generations of a ruler named Gamiṇi who had 10 sons : in the inscriptions these 10 sons are styled *daśabatika*, 'the ten brothers'. These royal personages cannot be identified with any of the kings or princes mentioned in the Pāli Chronicles : and their inscriptions carry the symbol of a fish which appears to have been the

10. 'Gāvuta Pillars', by H. W. Codrington, *C.J.S.* (G) II. 129-134. Codrington's two Papers, 'Notes on Ceylon Topography in the 12th century' in *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXIX and XXX, Nos. 75 and 78, are indispensable for a study of the campaigns of Vijayabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu I in Rohaṇa.

11. *A.I.C.* 99 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1952. 41 ; *E.Z.*, V. 86.

dynastic emblem of this particular royal family. The existence of an independent royal dynasty in South-east Ceylon has been discussed by Paranavitana who came to the conclusion that the 10 brother-kings (dasabhātikas) of Kataragama mentioned in the Dhātuvamśa are in all probability identical with the 10 brothers, the sons of Gamiṇi, of the *Bōvattagala* and *Koṭṭadāmuḥela* inscriptions. With regard to the kṣatriyas of Kājaragāma he says:—‘the origin of the kṣatriyas of *Kataragama* is obscure. The only mention of them in the Chronicle is in Chapter XIX, verse 54 of the Mahāvamśa. There is no statement to show that they were, in any way, related to the royal family then ruling at Anurādhapura. It appears possible that the kṣatriyas of *Kataragama* were connected with a stream of immigration to this Island quite distinct from the main stream whose legends and traditions are the theme of the chroniclers of Anurādhapura. It may well be that the kṣatriyas of *Kataragama* were no other than the dasabhātikas of the Dhātuvamśa and the inscriptions’. It should be added that at *Henannēgala* in the *Batticaloa district* there is yet another royal epigraph of this period with the fish emblem, and it would appear that the realm of this independent dynasty of *Kataragama* extended over a great part of the present *Batticaloa district* as well as over the region now commonly called *Yāla*.¹²

The partly ruined thūpa at the Buddhist monastery now known as *Kiri Vēhera* at *Kataragama* is called the Mangala-maha-ceya (‘auspicious great cetiya’) at Kajaragama Rajamahavihara in a 5th century royal inscription *in situ*: the inscription also mentions the village Jeṭugama, identified by Paranavitana as modern *Deṭagamuva*, about a mile from *Kataragama*. Some of the bricks at the thūpa bear mason’s marks of the 1st century B.C., the period of its original construction. Another inscription of the 2nd century at this site records the enlarging of the thūpa and the construction of entrance steps by a monk residing at Dakavahanaka in Kadahavapiḡama, which Paranavitana suggests may be present *Kaṭagamuva*, 9 miles to the east. Dappula, ruler of Rohaṇa (circa 659) is stated to have built a Vihāra at Kājaragāma: the work was one of restoration since the Vihāra was in existence 7 centuries earlier. Kājaragāma became the temporary capital of Rohaṇa from about 1050 to 1056 during the Cōḷa conquest: Loka, Kassapa and Vijayabāhu ruled there in turn until the place was captured and plundered by the Cōḷas.¹³

With regard to the Dēvāla at *Kataragama*, now one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Ceylon, Dr. Paranavitana’s observations are pertinent and authoritative. He says:—‘The literature, both Sinhalese and Tamil, connecting Skanda with *Kataragama*, is of recent origin; and there are, at the place, no vestiges whatever of the prevalence of a Hindu cult in early days. Therefore, the tradition,

(that the shrine of Skanda was built at *Kataragama* by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in fulfilment of a vow) may well be doubted . . . The shrine has always been, and still is, under the supervision of Sinhalese priests (Kapurālas); and, in the annual festival, I was informed by the priest, that the ceremonies connected with the Bo-tree and the Dāgāba take precedence to those of the god. Some of the legends associated with *Kataragama-deviyo* are not known in India about Skanda; and the prevailing belief among the Sinhalese is that he is one of the four guardian deities of Ceylon and is destined to become a Buddha in the future. Therefore, we may be justified in concluding that *Kataragama-deviyo* was originally one of the local deities or Bodhisattvas of the Sinhalese Buddhists; and in process of time was identified with the Purāṇic deity Skanda, some centuries ago’. In a later work, Dr. Paranavitana writes that the four guardian gods of the Sinhalese Buddhists who ‘according to popular belief, have taken upon themselves the task of protecting the people of Ceylon and the religion of the Buddha . . . are Upulvan of Devundara, Sumana, who has his abode on Samanōḷa, Vibhīṣāṇa, the centre of whose cult is Kālaṇiya, and Skanda-Kumāra of *Kataragama*’.¹⁴

The greater part of lower *Ūva* as well as *Māgam Pattu* in *Hambantōṭa* district fell into that division which was known as Aṭṭhasahassa-raṭṭha or -desa, ‘the province of 8,000 villages’, whose capital in the 11th and 12th centuries was Uddhanadvāra or Udundora, the present village of *Galabādda* at the 29th mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road. Aṭṭhasahassa comprised all the region to east of the *Valavē Gaṅga*. A great converging attack was delivered on Uddhanadvāra, the residence of Queen Sugalā, by Parakkamabāhu’s troops in order to capture her and the Tooth and Bowl Relics.¹⁵

The principal district in Aṭṭhasahassa was Guttahāla-maṇḍala, also called Guthala and Guttala, present *Buttala*, a region in which there was always much warfare, principally civil war. Places specifically mentioned as situated within Guttahāla district were:—

- (i) Nakulanāga-kannikā or Nakulanagara, not far from Guttahāla itself: it was the area extending over the hilly region to northward of *Vāllavāya*. In this sub-division was the village Mahisadoṇika or Mideṇi, present *Midde-ṇiya* about 8 miles north of *Vāllavāya*, the birthplace of the warrior Khaṇjadeva. On Paṇjalipabbata, also called Aṇjalipavva, near the source of the Karinda-nadī (present *Kirinda Oya*), there was an ancient monastery, very probably identical with the rock-temple now known as *Kandē Vihāra*, 5 miles north of *Vāllavāya*.¹⁶

14. *E.Z.*, III, 213, note 3; ‘The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara’, A. S. Memoirs, VI, 19.

15. *M.* 61. 16, 24, 25: 75. 154.

16. *M.* 23. 77: 24. 17: 25. 6: 32. 14: 58. 34: 61. 12: 74. 154: 75. 15; *E.M.* 23. 26: 33. 36; *Thv.* 135, 154; *E.H.B.* 69.

12. *M.* 19. 54, 62; *M.T.* 407, 21; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 99, 100, 114, 115, 175, 176; Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume 65-67.

13. *M.* 45. 45: 57. 2, 67: 58. 6: 73. 75; *E.Z.*, III. 215, 218: IV. 214.

- (ii) Javamāla ford across the *Mānik Gaṅga* at *Buttala*.¹⁷
- (iii) *Cūlaṅgaṇiyapiṭṭhi* or *Yudaganāpiṭṭiya*, the battlefield of the two princes, Abhaya and Tissa, about B.C. 170: it is popularly identified with present *Yudagaṇāva*, about 2 miles northward of *Buttala*.¹⁸
- (iv) *Kālavallimaṇḍapa*, also called *Kālavallika-maṇḍapa*, was the residence of the renowned *thera Mahānāga* in the reign of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137), and it was six hours journey on foot (15 to 18 miles) from *Buttala*. *Kālavāpi* in *Guttahāla* district was very probably the same as *Kālavalli* tank in *Rohaṇa* restored by *Parakkamabāhu I* (1153-1186). The *Pūjāvaliya* ascribes to *Kāvaṇ-tissa* in the 2nd century B.C. the foundation of a *vihāra* in *Rohaṇa* named *Kalumuhudu*. All these names may signify the same place. (*Kaluvaḷa*, *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*'s first halt, was different). The location was probably southward of *Buttala*.¹⁹
- (v) *Maccutthala*, to westward of *Kataragama*.²⁰
- (vi) *Khadirangaṇi*, a stronghold to north or north-east of *Kataragama* and between that place and *Buttala*.²¹
- (vii) *Kubūlagalla*, which may be the same as *Kumbugāma*, and was possibly near *Kumbukkana*.²²
- (viii) *Panasabukka*, apparently the same as *Paṅkavelaka*, the scene of two battles: it may be modern *Kosgoda*, just south of *Monerāgala*.²³
- (ix) *Kaṭagāma*.²⁴
- (x) *Ādipāda-jambu-padesa*, also called *Ādipādapunnāgakhaṇḍa*, a sub-district, probably the area around *Dambagalla*, 5 miles north of *Monerāgala*.²⁵
- (xi) *Uruvelā-maṇḍala*, a sub-district with a township and tank of the same name, also called *Etumala*, and identified by *Codrington* as present *Etimōle*, 8 miles south-east of *Monerāgala*: *Queen Sugala* took refuge here but her troops were defeated, and although she herself escaped from the battlefield, the *Tooth* and *Bowl* Relics were captured. *Parakkamabāhu I* restored *Uruvelā* tank;²⁶

17. *M.* 24. 22.18. *M.* 24. 19; *Raj.* 34.19. *M.* 61. 16: 79. 35; *M.T.* 606; *Puj.* 16; *E.H.B.* 69, 120.20. *M.* 58. 35.21. *M.* 57. 72: 58. 36.22. *M.* 58. 36: 75. 149, 167.23. *M.* 61. 12, 17.24. *M.* 61. 16.25. *M.* 61. 15: 75. 15.26. *M.* 74. 88, 125: 79. 83; *Puj.* 34.

- (xii) *Maharivara*, a stronghold, present *Mārūva*.²⁷
- (xiii) *Demaṭavala*, identical with *Demaṭahal* or *Gamiṭṭhavāli* or *Gamiṭṭhapāli Vihāra* founded by *Kākavaṇṇa Tissa* early in 2nd B.C., and identified by *Codrington* as *Okkampiṭiya* where the temple is still called *Demaṭavala*. Inscriptions in the vicinity include a pre-Christian cave inscription and a grant by *Gothābhaya* (249-263).²⁸
- (xiv) *Voyalaggamu*, situated between *Maharivara* and *Uruvelā*.²⁹

Khīragāma, also called *Girigama* and *Kirigama*, was a place on the route from *Mahāgāma* to *Mahiyaṅgaṇa*, and *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*'s army halted there. At *Khīragāma*, *Parakkamabāhu I* (1153-1186) built the *Ratanāvali Cetiya*, 180 feet high. *Mahākhiragāma*, mentioned in the *Commentaries*, is probably identical with *Khīragāma*, and near it was *Loṇagiri* or *Lenagiri*. *Gothābhaya* of *Rohaṇa* built *Khīrasāla Vihāra*. *Paranavitana* has identified *Khīragāma* or *Girigama* or *Kirigama* with modern *Yudagaṇāva*, 2 miles from *Buttala*, where there are the ruins of the colossal *thūpa* built by *Parakkamabāhu I*.³⁰

Sappanārukokilla was the place where the *Senāpati Rakkha* died and on the site of his cremation *Parakkamabāhu I* built a large *Alms Hall*: its location was probably in the vicinity of *Buttala*.³¹

Sumanagalla-padesa, opposite *Voyalaggamu*, was, according to *Codrington*, an area in the northern part of *Buttala Vādiraṭa Kōralē*. *Kaṇṭakadvāravāta* has been identified by *Codrington* as *Kaṭupālālla*, just south of *Dambagalla*. For *Corambagāma*, *Codrington* proposes *Horambāva*, south of *Monerāgala*. *Māragallaka* or *Nigrodhamāragalla* or *Māragiri* is identified by *Codrington* as *Maragala*, the main peak of the *Monerāgala* range.³²

Bhattasūpa was eastward or southward of *Okkampiṭiya*.³³

The ruins at *Habāssa*, 6 miles south of *Okkampiṭiya*, are named *Ulibikala-Naka-mahavihara* in an inscription *in situ* of the *Uvaraja Naka*, son of *Utara Maharaja* (not mentioned in the *Chronicles*) and grandson of *Vahaba Maharaja* (*Vasabha*, 67-111). To it were granted (i) *Ulibikala* canal; (ii) *Mataviya*; (iii) *Abaviya*; and (iv) *Gaviḍaviya* (see *Gaviṭa* under *Cittalapabbata* in *Hambantota* district). Another ruined site in this neighbourhood, named *Lēdorugala*, is called *Huḷigiriya Vihara* in a 2nd century inscription of 'two brother-kings'.³⁴

27. *M.* 74. 112.28. *M.* 22. 23, 74, 140; *E.M.*, 22. 65; *Puj.* 16, 29; *Raj.* 57; *A.I.C.* 18; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1953, 27.29. *M.* 74. 122.30. *M.* 74. 163: 79. 71; *Dhv.* 31; *E.H.B.* 87, 104, 89, 112, App. 1B; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1955, 27, 28.31. *M.* 74. 135.32. *M.* 55. 26: 74. 55, 123: 75. 15, 182; *E.Z.*, I. 136.33. *M.* 74. 142.34. *E.Z.*, IV. 217.

The place Diyakavāna is mentioned in a 10th century inscription at *Maragala Estate, Monerāgala*. The rock-temple at *Monerāgala* is named Mahanama-Jeṭṭisapava-Rajamahavihara after the 4th century king who founded it. Close to *Monerāgala* are other cave monasteries with pre-Christian inscriptions, namely, (i) *Vāliyāya*, near the 24th mile; (ii) a group of 5 inscribed caves very high up on the hill above; (iii) *Maḍugasmulla*, near the 27th mile where one inscription of the 4th century bears the place-name, Taburavu; (iv) *Galabādda*, near the 28th mile; and (v) *Kimbulāvela*, near the 30th mile.³⁵

At *Vālaellugodakanda*, off *Dombagahavela* at the 34th mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road, there is a series of cave inscriptions which give the names of the king (Saddhā Tissa, B.C. 137-119); the king's Senāpati, Agidata; the Senāpati's wife, Naga; and the lady's father, Senāpati Puṣadeva. Nandhimitta, the Senāpati of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, was succeeded in that office by another famous commander, Phussadeva; and in the reign of Saddhā Tissa, who succeeded Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the Senāpati was the latter's son-in-law, Aggidatta.³⁶

On the edge of the precipice at *Maṇḍagala*, near the 41st mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road, is a 4th century inscription by the rāṭiya (district chieftain) resident at Galataraka.

There is a small group of inscribed, pre-Christian caves at *Galkoṭṭuva*, near the 40th mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road.

At *Kiṇivālgoda*, about 5 miles east of *Dambagalla*, is one of the oldest epigraphs in Ceylon: it is dated in the reign of the prince Naga, that is, Mahānāga, the brother of Devānāmpiya Tissa and the first ruler of Rohaṇa.³⁷

Makkhakudrūsa or Maṇḍakaviḍutoṭa, where the prince Kittī, and afterwards, Loka dwelt in the 11th century was in the *Buttala* region. Dappula (circa 659) built Kavudu Vihāra. There is a place named *Kavudāva*, near *Monerāgala*.³⁸

Codrington identifies the Girimaṇḍala district with the hill country west or north-west of *Buttala* and probably the *Koslanda* area.³⁹

In the 5th century inscription of great length at *Hingurāgala*, near *Sudupānavela* at *Vālluvāya*, a record was made of the names of the fields which were purchased on behalf of the monastery at the place from a military unit encamped at Vasakavahara camp at Kahabatarayatana in Mahagama district. Other place-names in the inscription are:—(i) Namaḍa-pagaragama, where there was a dam; (ii) Narapagaragama; (iii) Sanayagama; (iv) Umanaroda-adara dam; (v) Ganayagama; (vi) Kahabagala; (vii) Gamaṭataṭa dam;

(viii) Kaṭunahabiya-tata; (ix) Marata dam; (x) Baba-atara dam; (xi) Badadavara; (xii) Ula-araba; (xiii) Patanaga-ubara; (xiv) Pasara-taṭaka; (xv) Maḍahababa; and (xvi) Kayuabaliya.⁴⁰

The ruins at *Pilikema*, 2 miles west of the 37th mile on the *Ham-bantoṭa-Vālluvāya* road, are called Pahaṇabena Vihāra in a 4th century inscription *in situ*. Other places named are:—(i) Mahageviḍhagama; (ii) Abalavatuka dam on the Cukarida Oya which is the present *Kudā Oya*, a branch of the *Kirinda Oya*; (iii) Akalayugu; (iv) Yalagama; and (v) Akasakayoṭa.⁴¹

Vālivāsaragāma was situated in a locality where many roads meet and it was to west of Dīghavāpi district and probably in present *Nikavāṭiya Kōralē*.⁴²

Hintālanagāma was 40 or 50 miles from Dīghavāpi and eastward of Khiragāma: a strong fortification was built there. There is a hill called *Kitulhela* about 6 miles north-east of *Dambagalla*. Near Hintālanagāma were:—(i) Gallambatṭhikagāma, which may have been across the boundary in Dīghavāpi district; (ii) Mūlanagāma; (iii) Kuddālamaṇḍala, between Hintālanagāma and Mūlanagāma; Aggabodhi II built Mahaudalu tank; and (iv) Kittirājavālukagāma, between Hintālanagāma and Voyalaggamu, close to and west of the former: there is a hill named *Vālihela*, 2 miles south of the 34th mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road. Uladā was between Voyalaggamu and Kittirājavālukagāma, west of the latter. Vāluka was between Uladā and Voyalaggamu, and west of the former; Goṭṭābaya of Rohaṇa built Vālukātitttha Vihāra: there is a *Vāli-Ār*, 3 miles east of *Vālluvāya*. Huyalagāma was west of Vāluka and probably in the *Vālluvāya* area.⁴³

Haritakivāta was east of Kumbugāma and has been identified by Codrington as *Aralugasmāda*, a hamlet of *Old Alupota*. Kaṇhavāta was east of Haritakivāta and is probably modern *Kiṇivālgoda*, near *Kolladeniya*. Vanagāma, where Queen Sugala was finally captured, was eastward of Kaṇhavāta and closer to Udundora: it is possibly identical with *Bāddēgama*, north of *Dombagahavela*.⁴⁴

The Vihāra named Talaṅgara or Talangaratissapabbata or Talaṅka or Talaṅga or Talaṅgatissapabbata or Talaguru existed from the 2nd century B.C., but the name of the king who founded it is not stated. It is the very remote, ruined site, still known as Talaguru Vihāra, which lies deep in the forest in the north-east corner of the present *Yāla North Intermediate Zone*, about 3 miles south of the *Kumbukkan Oya*: it is a place of pilgrimage for the people in the

35. C.J.S. (G) II. 23; A.S.C.A.R., 1951, 64.

36. U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 116; A.S.C.A.R., 1940-45, 149.

37. U.C.R. VII, No. 4, 240; VIII, No. 2, 123.

38. M. 55. 6; Puj. 29, 33; Raj. 57.

39. M. 51. 111.

40. A.I.C. 78; A.S.M. VI. 25; E.Z., V. 117-119.

41. A.I.C. 77; E.Z., IV. 126, 128.

42. M. 74. 177.

43. M. 74. 162. 75. 7, 12, 15-18; Puj. 28; Dhv. 31.

44. M. 75. 18, 174.

Monerāgala-Siyambalā-aṇḍuva area. There are pre-Christian inscriptions there.⁴⁵

One of the last strongholds occupied by the followers of Queen Sugala before her final defeat was Badaguna. Baddhaguna Vihāra and tank are mentioned earlier in the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110): the Cetiya destroyed by the Cōlas was restored by the Uparāja who built in the forest close to the Vihāra a large tank. This is almost certainly the large, breached reservoir now known as *Buduguna-vāva* in the south-east corner of *Ūva*.⁴⁶

Close to *Talaguru Vihāra* and *Buduguna-vāva* above, in deep forest, is a ruined site of pre-Christian antiquity known as *Divulbāna Vihāra*. All this area, as well as the region between the *Hāda Oya* and the *Kumbukkan Oya*, remains largely unexplored. At *Vattēgama*, about 10 miles south of the 38th mile on the *Monerāgala-Pottuvil* road, the inscriptions at the ancient temple there are of the 1st to 5th centuries: and at *Manānahela*, 3 miles off the road to *Vattēgama*, are ruins with pre-Christian cave inscriptions.⁴⁷

Beyond *Okkampitiya* are the ruins at *Māligāvila* and *Dambēgoḍa* which once formed one monastery. There are at the site a colossal image of the Buddha in the full round, 34 feet high, and much stonework in limestone. The ruins have been tentatively identified as Ariyākari Vihāra of the Chronicle.⁴⁸

At *Kōṅkātiya* (3 miles south of *Buttala*), *Kōmārikāgala* (7 miles south of *Pālvatta*), *Ātilivāva* (about 4 miles west of *Telulla*), *Sīmāpahura-kanda* (near *Angunukolapālāssa* on the *Tanamalvila-Hambēgamuva* road), and other sites in *Vāllavāya Kōralē* there are pre-Christian inscriptions.⁴⁹

The most remarkable Mahāyāna sculptures in Ceylon are at *Buduruvāgala*, about 3 miles south-west of *Vāllavāya*. A group of colossal figures has here been carved on the rock on a scale comparable to that of the Buddhas at *Avukana* and *Sāssēruva*. The figures are in high relief. Some of the details are not carved in stone but merely indicated and completed in stucco. They were also originally given a coating of paint, traces of which are still visible in some places. The central figure of the group is a colossal Buddha some fifty feet in height . . . and is attended on either side by two Bodhisattvas, the one on the Buddha's right representing Avalokita as proved by the figure of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha in the head-dress. The corresponding figure on the Buddha's left has no Dhyāni Buddha in the head-dress: but as the triad of Buddha, Avalokita and Maitreya, occurs very often in Buddhist iconography, we may identify this

figure with Maitreya. The Bodhisattva to the right of the Buddha is attended on the left by a female figure and on the right by a male. If the identification of the central figure with Avalokita is right, the female figure may represent Tārā. In Buddhist iconography, Avalokita is usually attended by Tārā on one side and Hayagrīva or Sudhanakumāra on the other. The male figure in question cannot be Hayagrīva as the horse's neck is not shown: therefore, it may represent Sudhanakumāra. The Bodhisattva on the left side (of the Buddha) is attended by two male figures whose identity it is not possible to determine. There is nothing so far found to indicate the period these sculptures may be assigned to; nor has it been possible to trace the mention of this place in the Chronicles. Some of the figures, especially the Bodhisattva to the left of the Buddha, show a high degree of artistic merit and on grounds of style they may be ascribed to a period anterior to the Polonnaruva epoch. Probably, the 9th century would not be too early a date'.⁵⁰

The *Velassa Division* is a very hilly region and the irrigation facilities provided in it in ancient times were necessarily scanty owing to the nature of the terrain. The popular belief that *Velassa* means 'a hundred thousand fields' can easily be seen to be absurd on a cursory examination of the one inch map. Ancient ruins are also few and probably mark the localities in which there were settled populations in former times. Those of pre-Christian origin, as their epigraphs prove, are (i) *Kahaṭa-atu-hela*, near *Nilgala*; (ii) *Buddhama*, about 16 miles north of *Siyambalā-aṇḍuva*; (iii) *Uhapita-leṇa*, 2 miles north-west of the *Vahavē* hot spring; and (iv) *Bāndiya galgē*, near *Hēnēbudda*.⁵¹

Govindamala, now known as *Govindahela* or 'Westminster Abbey', was the fortress of the Ādipāda Bhuvanekabāhu during the reign of the invader Māgha (1214-1235): on the summit of this imposing and formidable rock, the prince fortified himself and kept up resistance in this part of Rohana.⁵²

The *Bintānna Division* of *Uva* was more thickly populated and better served with tanks and other irrigation works than the *Velassa Division*. The area around Mahiyaṅgaṇa and *Uraṇiya* has already been described. At *Māvaragala*, near *Dambāna*, 13 miles from *Paḍiyatalāva*, there was a fairly large cave monastery of pre-Christian date: among the donors of the caves were district chieftains and village headmen. At *Māpākavāva*, south of Mahiyaṅgaṇa, there is an inscription of the 9th or 10th century granting immunities.⁵³

45. *E.H.B.* 65, 70, 120, 121; *M.* 32, 52; *M.T.* 606; *Thv.* 213.

46. *M.* 60, 80; 74, 124.

47. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 37.

48. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1951, 37, 38; *M.* 45, 60-63.

49. *C.J.S. (G)* II, 24; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 122.

50. S. Paranavitana in *C.J.S. (G)* II, 50-51.

51. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1950, 29.

52. *M.* 81, 4-6; *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)*, No. 61, 167ff and No. 67, 279ff.

53. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1955, 34.

CHAPTER VI

THE HAMBANTOTA DISTRICT

(A) Māgam Pattu

Mahāgāma, modern *Tissamahārāma* (locally called *Tihava*), was the capital of the principality of Rohaṇa. The Śakka prince, Rohaṇa, is said to have founded the settlement named Rohaṇa in the 5th century B.C. : it is probable that here Rohaṇa is synonymous with Mahāgāma. In the second half of the 3rd century B.C., the Uparāja Mahānāga, the younger brother and heir of king Devānaṃpiya Tissa, left Anurādhapura for fear of his life, surrendering his right to the succession, and came to Mahāgāma where he established his seat as the ruler of Rohaṇa. None of the Chronicles offers an explanation as to how Mahānāga was able to supplant or supersede the lineal descendants of the original ruler, Rohaṇa. Nevertheless, it is a fact that he was a ruler of Rohaṇa at the period assigned to him by the Chronicles, because epigraphical corroboration is furnished by the inscriptions at *Kiṇivālgoḍa*, *Kusalānakanda* and *Deviyannēkema* (all in Rohaṇa) in which he is described as Uparaja Naga and a ruler. Contemporary with Mahānāga were two noble families of kṣatriyas at Kājaragāma (*Kataragama*) and Candanagāma (also in Rohaṇa) who were accorded a place of honour at the ceremonial planting of the Bodhi Tree at Anurādhapura : of the eight Bodhi saplings, two were planted at the seats of these two kṣatriya families, but not at Mahāgāma. The Dhātuvamśa mentions the 'ten brother-kings (*dasabhātika*) of Kadara-gama' who were slain by Goṭhābhaya, the grandson of Mahānāga, an action which was apparently disapproved by the people because Goṭhābhaya is said to have built a number of vihāras afterwards by way of expiation. At *Kottadūmuhela* in the *Yāla* area and at *Bōvattagala*, across the *Kumbukkan Oya*, there are inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. of a royal dynasty, among whom were ten brothers (*dasabatika*), whose distinctive emblem was that of a fish. Parana-vitana has expressed the opinion that 'it may well be that the Kṣatriyas of *Kataragama* were no other than the *dasabhātikas* of the Dhātuvamśa and the inscriptions'. Apparently, the differences between Mahānāga's royal family of Mahāgāma and the kṣatriya royal family of *Kataragama* reached a crisis which ended in bloodshed and the termination of the territorial authority of the latter in the reign of Goṭhābhaya early in the 2nd century B.C.¹

The *Hambantota district* is one of the most arid areas in Ceylon. The coast-line is indented by several lagoons or *lāvāyas* in which salt forms naturally by evaporation during the dry season. The land is mostly flat, broken by a few inland hills. The lower courses of the *Valavē Gaṅga*, which is a perennial river, *Kirinda Oya* and *Mānik Gaṅga* flow through the district. These and other water resources were tapped for irrigation, but large reservoirs were few although village tanks were numerous, and the irrigation system was not nearly so large or complex as in the Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and *Kurunāgala* district.

Not infrequently Rohaṇa was ruled by princes who were independent or semi-independent of the kings at Anurādhapura. Revolts and uprisings usually originated there. Always it was the stronghold of freedom in which the Sinhalese retained their independence or built up resistance when the country was occupied by foreign invaders. A prince who governed Rohaṇa in the 1st century was styled Rohiṇika while a Minister who performed the same duties in the 2nd century bore the title Rohaṇa-bojika. The first large tank at Mahāgāma, Tissavāpi (present *Tissavāva*), was built by Iṇanāga (33-43) : he also built the Dūra tank. In an inscription of Vasabha (67-111) shares in Duratisa tank were assigned to a Vihāra in Mahāgāma : Dūra or Duratisa tank was probably the tank now known as *Yōdavāva*. A Vihāra name Mahāvāpi or Mahāvāsa, associated with a tank of the same name, was the abode of many monks in early times : the tank is probably present *Viravila*, also known as *Mahavāva*. The Mahāpāli or Royal Alms Hall at Mahāgāma, at which alms were distributed daily at the ruler's expense, was built by Aggabodhi (circa 600), independent ruler of Rohaṇa. Mahāgāma was not a walled town like Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva : its ruins bear no comparison with those of Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva and illustrate the relative poverty of Rohaṇa.²

The oldest Vihāra at Mahāgāma was that founded by Mahānāga in the 3rd century B.C. and known as the Nāgamahā or Mahāgāmanāga or Mahānāga or Nāga Vihāra. It was restored, its thūpa was enlarged and its area extended by Iṇanāga (33-43). An early inscription, of which the text is doubtful, records the grant of Goḷagama to Nakamahavihara. The Goṭha sea, by which Goḷagama may have been situated, is mentioned in the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa.³

The Yaṭṭhālaya Vihāra mentioned in the Mahāvamśa as the place where Mahānāga's son, Yaṭṭhālakatissa, was born is not the present *Yaṭṭā Vihāra* at *Tissa* : it is clear from the context that Yaṭṭhālaya Vihāra was not in Rohaṇa.⁴

1. *M.* 9. 10 : 22. 8 : 35. 32 : 45. 42 : 74. 157 ; *E.Z.* III, 182 ; *Rsv.* II, 4 ; *M.* 19. 54, 62 ; *M.T.* 407, 21 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 18, 25, 99, 100, 114, 115, 175, 176 ; Sir Paul Pieris *Fel.* Vol. 65-67.

2. *M.* 35. 32 : 45. 42 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 8, 25 ; *E.Z.* III, 182 ; *Rsv.* II, 4.

3. *M.* 22. 9, 48-50 : 55. 31, 32 : 36. 34 ; *M.T.* 649, 32 ; *A.I.C.* 4.

4. *M.* 22. 7, 8.

Mahānāga founded the Uddhakandaraka or Uddhakandarādi Vihāra. An ancient temple 2 miles east of *Yōdakaṇḍiya*, founded in pre-Christian times on the evidence of its cave inscriptions, now bears the name *Uddhakandara*, but its identity with the ancient vihāra of that name is very uncertain.⁵

The Mahāvamsa does not mention Candagiri Vihāra at Mahāgāma till the 12th century, but the Sinhalese Chronicles vary in attributing the foundation of Saṇdagiri Vihāra to Mahānāga and to Kāvaṇṭissa. Its ruins, still known as Saṇdagiri, lie a mile to east of *Tissavāva*. A large, octagonal, inscribed stone to south of the ruins bears inscriptions of a son of Bhātikābhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7) and of Vasabha (67-111): they record the grant to the Uposatha House of shares in Duratisa tank, of Ābagamaka tank and of fields in Patigama. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Candagiri Vihāra.⁶

Tissamahāvihāra, also called Tissārāma and Tissamahārāma, was founded by Kākavaṇṇa Tissa early in the 2nd century B.C. In it was the Silāpassaya Pariveṇa. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhiya made offerings at Tissamahāvihāra before setting out on his campaign against Elāra. The name Akuju Mahagama or Akujuka occurs in two inscriptions of the 2nd century and appears to refer to Tissamahāvihāra. In an inscription of king Mahānāga (406-428) the Vihāra is called Mahagama Rajamahavahera, and a grant is made to it of a large extent of land at Palitoṭugama, which, from its name, must have been situated on the banks of the *Kirinda Oya*. Dappula, ruler of Rohaṇa (circa 659), donated the village of Kattikapabbata to the Vihāra. In the inscription of Dappula IV (927) at *Deṭagamuva*, Tissamahāvihāra is called Mahavehera.⁷

The ancient names of the *Māṇik* and *Yaṭāla* Vihāras at *Tissa* are not known. At the former there are a pre-Christian inscription and a 7th/8th century inscription in an undecipherable script, while at the latter there are inscriptions of the 6th to 10th centuries, but the Vihāras are not named.⁸

The district around Mahāgāma is called Mahagama-janavaya (P.-janapada) in a 5th century inscription: in the 12th century the Cūlavamsa calls it Mahāgāma-maṇḍala.⁹

The Mahānuggala Cetiya, also called Mahāmaṅgala and Mahādug-gala, was built by Kākavaṇṇa Tissa. The Pūjāvaliya ascribes to this king a vihāra named Mahagamtoṭa.¹⁰

5. *M.* 22. 9; *E.M.* 22. 32.

6. *M.* 60. 61; *Dhv.* 30; *Puj.* 16; *A.I.C.* 23; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 17, 18, 25; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1951, 38.

7. *M.* 22, 23, 28: 25. 2: 45, 49; *E.M.* 25. 2; *Puj.* 16; *Dhv.* II, 83; *A.I.C.* 67; *E.Z.* III, 215, 216, 223; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) New Series, II, 134.

8. *C.J.S.* (G) II, 24, 25; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1954, 37.

9. *E.Z.V.* 116; *M.* 74. 157.

10. *M.* 24. 8; *E.M.* 24. 17; *M.T.* 462; *Puj.* 16.

The Dāthaggabodhi Pariveṇa, probably at Mahāgāma, was built by Aggabodhi, ruler of Rohaṇa (circa 600).¹¹

In Paṭima or Piḷima Vihāra, probably in or close to Mahāgāma, Dappula (circa 659) erected a large Image House and installed a Stone Image of the Buddha. The same ruler built at Kāṇagāma, not far from Mahāgāma, a hospital for the blind.¹²

Tūlādhāra or Tulākārapabbata Vihāra, on the hill Tūlādhārapabbata or Taralpavva, is stated to have been founded by Kākavaṇṇa Tissa who ruled Rohaṇa in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. It was a famed seat of learning in the 1st century and among its great preceptors were the theras Mahādhammarakkhita and Mahāpaduma. Around *Veherakema*, a considerable rock-group about 1 1/2 miles north-north-east of the village of *Kirinda*, are several drip-ledged caves and other ruins as well as a number of inscriptions dating from the 2nd century B.C. to the 7th century. In some of the inscriptions the site is named Tulakarapavarata or Tulakarapavi Mahavihara: this, therefore, is the ancient Tūlādhāra Vihāra. At the foot of Tūlādhārapabbata was the village Vihāravāpi or Vēravāgama, the birthplace of the warrior Labhiyavasabha. Other place-names occurring in the inscriptions at this site are: (i) Pumagama; (ii) Paharadora; (iii) Bariganada; (iv) Neṭulavaha; and (v) Caḍulagama. Aggabodhi IV (667-683) granted the village Tūlādhāra to the Practising House which he built for the thera Dāthāsiva of Nāgasālā: but whether this village is identical with Tūlādhāra of Rohaṇa is uncertain.¹³

Vihāradevī is said to have come ashore at Laṅkā Vihāra on the coast near Mahāgāma: the landing place is also called Tolaka Vihāra and Koṭṭhalatā. Kāvaṇṭissa is said to have built Vihāramahādevī Vihāra or Bisōvalu Vihāra, presumably to commemorate the landing place. All these names appear, therefore, to refer to the same place. The popular identification of *Kirinda* as Vihāradevī's landing place has no historical authority. The inscription of the 1st century B.C. at the ruins at *Kirinda* (a contemporary copy of which also exists at *Tissamahārāma*) is in verse and it is unique in its subject matter. It records that at the Vihāra at this spot the Uvaraja Naka (afterwards king Mahādāthikamahānāga) abandoned false beliefs and was converted to Buddhism. The Chronicles give us to understand that from B.C. 246 onwards Buddhism was the firm and only faith of the Sinhalese monarchy and people, and the accuracy of that assertion is not impugned by this solitary instance of one dissident prince professing other beliefs and recanting them in favour of Buddhism. This singular event is not recorded in the Chronicles or Commentaries, but it was

11. *M.* 45. 42.

12. *M.* 45. 43, 44; *Puj.* 29.

13. *M.* 23. 90: 33. 90: 35. 31: 46. 12; Sig. Graff, mention Taral-pā- piriven, I, App. C; *Dhv.* 136; *Dhv.* 83; *E.H.B.* 30, 84, 121; *A.I.C.* 67 (a); *C.J.S.* (G) iii, 26.

apparently of sufficient local importance for the recantation to be publicised by the engraving of two inscriptions, one at the Uvaraja's seat (Malāgāma) and the other at the Vihāra where the conversion occurred'.¹⁴

Patungalu Vihāra is ascribed to Kāvāntissa. There are ruins on the rock-group now known as *Paṭanangala* in the *Ruhuna National Park*. The anchorage here was probably used from early times.¹⁵

The extensive ruins at *Situlpavuvva Vihāra* in the *Ruhuna National Park* are identified by inscriptions *in situ*, in which the site is named Citalapavata Vihara, with the renowned Cittalapabbata Vihāra of the Chronicles and Commentaries. Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, ruler of Rohaṇa early in the 2nd century B.C., is credited with its foundation. It was one of the most celebrated Vihāras of ancient times and its monks had a great reputation for their piety and learning. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladin, Phussadeva, hailed from the village Gaviṭa, near Cittalapabbata. (Cf. Gaviḍaviya in the *Habāssa* inscription under Chapter V (B), *Lower Ūva*). One of the cetiyas at the Vihāra enshrined the relics of a Sāmaṇera who became an Arahant and it was called Tissatthera-cetiya. A meditation-hall existing in the 1st century was known as Niṅkaṇṇa-padhānaghara. Vasabha built 10 thūpas in Cittalakūṭa (Cittalapabbata) Vihāra. The inscriptions on the site record rich endowments of land in the 1st century and the building of a cetiya by Mahallaka Nāga. Dappula, ruler of Rohaṇa, granted the village Gonnaviṭṭhi to the Vihāra: this name may be preserved in modern *Gōnagala* in the *Ruhuna National Park*. Kuravakagalla, where an action was fought between the troops of Parakkamabāhu I and those of the rebel Queen Sugala, is very probably identical with *Koravakgala*, one of the hills in the *Situlpavuvva* entourage. The 61 cave inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st B.C. at this site include two in which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladins, Nandhimitta and Veḷusumana, are mentioned. The place names mentioned are: (i) Paśaṇadariyagama; (ii) Totagamiya, evidently a village on the *Māṇik Gaṅga* near *Varahāna*; (iii) Vanakagamiya; (iv) Viladaka, in which was Majimagama; (v) Kavarasaka, in which was Kaṇikerapaḷi: Goṭhābhaya of Rohaṇa built Kaṇikārasēla Vihāra which was probably identical with Kaṇikāravālika-Samudda-Vihāra; (vi) Mahahalagama; (vii) Kibabadi; (viii) Siva-nakara; (ix) Dubalayahaṭigama: Saddhā Tissa built Dubbalavāpitissaka Vihāra and Kaniṭṭha Tissa added to it an Uposatha House; (x) Dakinitisa tank, shares in which were assigned to the Vihāra; and (xi) Hiṭadala. A district named Aḷa-janapada in this region is mentioned in the Commentaries: the wife of the Nāgarāja of named Aḷanda renewed the gift of a canal abandoned by the monks of the

Vihāra. The Commentaries also mention a ford named Kuruvakattittha, which name is preserved in modern *Koravaka-vāva*.¹⁶

At Paluṭṭhagiri the Cōlas suffered two severe defeats in 1017 and 1041. In both instances the position taken up by the Sinhalese forces was essentially defensive, where they could withstand siege and make offensive forays as well as trap their enemies. Hocart has proposed the identification of Paluṭṭhagiri with modern *Palatupāna*, and in the identity of the two names he is doubtless right. The nearest rocky hills to *Palatupāna* which could have served as a fortress and still bears signs of having been one in the past, are the rock-group now called *Magul-maha-vihāra* in the *Ruhuna National Park*. On these rocks was a large pre-Christian monastery with several inscribed caves.¹⁷

Silavakanda is close to *Magul-maha-vihāra* above, and it too was a pre-Christian cave monastery. One inscription is dated in the reign of a king who was probably Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137).¹⁸

Gōnagala and *Pimburaṃmalgala* are two adjacent hills in the *Ruhuna National Park* which in past time formed one monastery. Of the nine pre-Christian cave inscriptions, one records the gift to the Saṅgha by the Village Corporation of Maḍukaśali.¹⁹

Ākāsa Cetiya, still known by the same name and the loftiest and most impressive rock in the *Ruhuna National Park*, is first mentioned in the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa and again in connection with Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya's exile in Rohaṇa: here a sordid incident occurred which caused a temporary estrangement between the king and his ministers. The ruins of the Cetiya on the summit prove that there was a stairway, probably partly of wood, up to the top in pre-Christian times.²⁰

Koṭapabbata Vihāra, also called Koṭipabbata Mahāvihāra, Koṭagala, Koṭapavu, Koṭadora and Keḷapavu, was near Ākāsa Cetiya and not far from Cittalapabbata. In it was Nāgaleṇa. The ruins have not been identified. Near Koṭapabbata Vihāra was the village Kittigāma or Kātigama.²¹

Acchagalla Vihāra was near Ākāsa Cetiya and is identical with Accha Vihāra in Rohaṇa ascribed to Goṭhābhaya and Valasgalu

14. *M.* 60, 61; *Dhv.* 30; *Puj.* 16; *A.I.C.* 23; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 17, 18, 25; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1951, 38.

15. *Puj.* 16.

16. *M.* 22, 23; 24, 9; 35, 81; 45, 59; 75, 137; *E.M.* 22, 133; *M.T.* 34, 457; *Thv.* 29; *E.H.B.* 117-119, 66; *E.Z.* IV, 217; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 116, 121-126; No. 4, 261; VII, No. 4, 242; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, II, 126ff.

17. *M.* 55, 28, 29; 58, 18-20; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1928, 17; *C.J.S.* (G) II, 26; *U.C.R.*, VIII, No. 2, 126; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, II, 126ff.

18. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, 10; *U.C.R.*, VII, 238, note 4; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, II, 126 ff.

19. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, II, 137.

20. *Ibid.*, 138; *M.* 22, 25-41; 33, 67-72; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1934, para 76.

21. *Ibid.*, 139; *M.* 22, 25; 23, 55, 61; *Puj.* 29; *Raj.* 57; *Thv.* 134; *E.H.B.* 70, 119.

Vihāra ascribed to Kāvāntissa, both rulers in the 2nd century B.C. It may be the rock-group now known as *Moderagala* in the *Ruhuna National Park* where there are caves and pre-Christian inscriptions.²²

The ruins at *Avagatiyāva*, a rock-group about a mile from Ākāsa Cetiya, are named *Ataḍa Vihāra* in a 2nd century inscription *in situ*: to the monastery was assigned Gutaviya tank, now the breached *Butava-vāva*.²³

The extensive ruins at *Maṇḍagala* in the *Yāla Strict Natural Reserve* are those of an important monastery in ancient times. The inscriptions there range in date from 2nd B.C. to 4th A.C. and the place-names mentioned in them are:—(i) Muragama; (ii) Galedarapu; (iii) Dovaṭigama; and (iv) Abavelaka. The *Maṇḍavāpi* or *Paṇḍavāpi Vihāra* was founded by Mahācūḷi Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63): if this is identical with the present *Maṇḍagala* ruins, which are earlier in date, Mahācūḷi Mahātissa was not the founder but a later benefactor of the Vihāra. The village *Maṇḍagāma* was granted to the Saṅgha by Aggabodhi (circa 600), ruler of Rohaṇa.²⁴

The *Yāla Strict Natural Reserve* has not been fully explored for ancient sites, but extensive sites with caves and pre-Christian inscriptions are known to exist at *Koṭṭadāmuḥela* and *Dematagala*.

A 3rd century inscription at *Deyinnēkema*, near *Kaṭagamuva*, records the foundation of the vihāra named *Vayaḷiya-Tisapavata* by Yaṭalaka Tisa Maharaja five centuries earlier and the grant to it of Kaḍacadaka tank.²⁵

A pillar inscription 1 mile north of *Kaṭagamuva* is an edict by Mānābharaṇa, ruler of Rohaṇa for some years prior to 1153, dated in the posthumous, 35th year of Jayabāhu (1149), granting fields at Mahatiradeṇiya and Kosombura to Taḷāmuḥundgiri Vihāra.²⁶

Uccatalaṅka or Uccavālika Vihāra existed in the 1st century B.C. and was probably in the Mahāgāma area. Another pre-Christian Vihāra in this locality was Gāmantapabbhāra or Vāmantapabbhāra Vihāra.²⁷

Gāmeṇḍavāla Mahāvihāra existed in the 1st century B.C. and was situated between *Kataragama* and *Situlpavuva*. Haṅkāna Vihāra of the same period was probably situated between *Talaguruhela* and *Situlpavuva*. Vadhatalanagara Vihāra was not far from *Situlpavuva* and existed in the 1st or 2nd century.²⁸

Associated with the hill *Uturuvaḍapavuva*, where gold was found was the village *Uttara*, also called *Uttaravaḍḍhamāna* or *Antaravaḍḍhamāna*: near the village and not far from Mahāgāma was Ambariya Vihāra. Mahāpuṇṇagāma was near Mahāgāma.²⁹

Sakkharasobbha was a port, evidently close to Mahāgāma, where Iḷanāga landed in the year 36.³⁰

Anurārāma Vihāra, near and to north of Mahāgāma, was built by Vasabha (67-111) who assigned to it the village *Heḷigāma* where there was a *Pariveṇa* known as *Heḷagam Pariveṇa*. Bronze 'boats' for alms were placed at Anurārāma Vihāra: *Vohārika Tissa* (209-231) built the *Uposatha House*. Dappula, ruler of Rohaṇa (circa 659), repaired Anurārāma Pāsāda. Anuru-maha-pā in Mahagama is mentioned in the *Sigiri Graffiti*.³¹

An inscription of Dappula IV (927) at *Deṭagamuva*, near *Kataragama*, grants privileges to Kapugam *Pariveṇa* which is described as situated to the north of the Mahaveher (*Tissamahāvihāra*) and on the south bank of the *Kapikandur-Ho*. This river is the *Kappakandara-nadi* of the Pāli Chronicles and *Paranavitana* has established that it is the present *Mūnik Gaṅga*. The village *Kappakandaragāma*, the home of the paladin, Bharaṇa, also called *Kapanduru* and *Kappanduru*, was doubtless named after the river and was situated on its banks.³²

The *Uḍa-Tisa-piriveṇa*, situated on the left bank of the *Kirind-Ho* (present *Kirinda Oya*), is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) at *Mayilagastota*, 8 miles from *Tissa*. In the Mahāvamsa the river is called *Karinda-nadi*.³³

Forced to flee from Rājaraṭṭha by the Cōla invaders, Mahinda V took refuge in Rohaṇa at a temporary capital which he established at *Kappagallaka*. In 1017 he and his family, together with the royal regalia and treasures, were captured by the Cōlas and he was sent as a prisoner to the Cōla Kingdom where he died 12 years later.³⁴

Valliyera Vihāra in Rohaṇa existed in the reign of Vasabha (67-111) who built for its chief monk the *Mahāvalligotta Vihāra*. Presumably, the *Valliyera Vihāra* was enlarged and re-named *Mahāvalligotta Vihāra*: the latter name may be preserved in modern *Vāligatta*.³⁵

22. Ibid., 140; *M.* 33. 67; *M.T.* 302; *Dhv.* 83.

23. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 57.

24. *E.H.B.* 74; App. IB; *Dhv.* 31; *E.H.B.* 122; *M.* 34. 8, 93; 45. 4; *E.M.* 34. 95.

25. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 37.

26. *E.Z.* V. 146.

27. *E.H.B.* 66, 68, 69, 116, 121.

28. *E.H.B.* 66, 119, 120, 123, 124.

29. *E.H.B.* 61, 117; *Dhv.* 41; *Sdh.Rv.* 851.

30. *M.* 35. 28.

31. *M.* 35. 83; 36. 30-37; 45. 46; 48. 25; *M.T.* 652, 10; *Puj.* 30; *Raj.* 57; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

32. *M.* 23. 64; 24. 22; *Puj.* 24, 30; *Thv.* 134; *E.Z.* III, 223, 224; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

33. *M.* 32. 14; *E.Z.* II, 63.

34. *M.* 55. 11.

35. *M.* 35. 82, 83; *M.T.* 652.

Kāvaṇṭissa built Badagaldora Vihāra which may be modern *Badagiriya*. The place-names Badagiri and Baḍagiri both occur in the Sigiri graffiti. The ruins at *Badagiriya*, about 7 miles north of *Hambantota*, are ancient and include inscriptions of the 3rd to 6th centuries in one of which the ancient name of the Vihāra has been obliterated.³⁶

The foundation of Gōṭhapabbata Vihāra is ascribed to Goṭhābhaya, ruler of Rohaṇa early in the 2nd century B.C. In an epigraph of Gajabāhu I (114-136) at *Goḍavāya Vihāra*, near the mouth of the *Valavē Gaṅga*, the site is called Goḍapavata Vihara and the customs duties of the port of the same name are assigned to the Vihāra. In a later 6th century inscription the place is named Goḍava Vahera. The appearance of the little bay at *Goḍavāya* today does not suggest that it could have been more than a hazardous anchorage for an occasional sailing ship in times past, and the revenue lost by the religious benefaction was probably trifling.³⁷

Khaṇḍavagga sub-district was a 12th century division extending eastward from the *Valavē Gaṅga* over the area a few miles inland from the coast. In this sub-district were:—(i) the village Bakagalla-Uddhavāpi, identified by Codrington as present *Koggalla-Uḍavāva*; (ii) Bilava(na) Vihara, the ancient name for the present *Karambagala Vihāra*, as given in an inscription *in situ* of the reign of Sirimeghavanna (301-328); Dhātusena (455-473) built (? restored) Bhilivāna Vihāra in Rohaṇa. The place Abadaka, the residence of the district chieftain, is mentioned in the inscription.³⁸

In the 11th and 12th centuries, perhaps earlier, the southern part of Rohaṇa was divided into two major territorial divisions, the dividing line being the Vana-nadī, previously called Mahā-nadī, the present *Valavē Gaṅga*. The area to east of the river, including *Lower Ūva*, was called Aṭṭhasahassa-raṭṭha or -desa, 'the district of 8,000 villages', and its capital was Uddhanadvāra or Udundora, present *Galabādda*, near *Monerāgala*.³⁹

Samghabhedakagāma was a place situated probably between *Koggalla* and *Tissa*.⁴⁰

Sippatthalaka, used as a temporary seat of administration by Vijayabāhu I in the 11th century, was between *Ambalantota* and *Kataragama*.⁴¹

36. *Dhv.* 83; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

37. *Dhv.* 31; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 197; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), *New Series*, V, 78.

38. *M.* 38. 49; 75. 119-125; *A.I.C.* 21 (a); *E.Z.* III. 179; IV. 224; *U.C.R.*, VII, No. 4, 247.

39. *M.* 51. 121; 61. 24; 75. 154, 157.

40. *M.* 75. 125.

41. *M.* 57. 70; 58. 7.

Dappula of Rohaṇa (circa 659) built a Vihāra near the tank Pāṇḍikkulama or Paḍikkulama. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Paṇḍukoḷamba tank, the breached reservoir north of *Ridiyā-gama* now known as *Pāṇḍikulama*.⁴²

At *Veheragala*, near *Bōdagama*, on the *Tanamalvila-Hambēgamuwa* road, there are two inscriptions, one very fragmentary of the 2nd century, and the other of the 6th century. The latter mentions the village Rayadagama in Mayagaraya.⁴³

(B). Giruva Pattus

Giri-janapada, also called Girimaṇḍala, Girinil-danaviya and Giruvāhōbaḍa, was a district which extended in pre-Christian times over, approximately, present *Giruva Pattus*, *East* and *West*. In Giri district were:—(i) the village Niṭṭhula-viṭṭhika, also called Niṭṭhula-cittaka and Niṭulviṭi, the home of the warrior, Goṭhaimbara: it may be present *Netṭolpitiya*, near *Tangalla*; and (ii) Kuṭumbiyaṅgaṇa village, also known as Kulumbiyangana, Kumbiyangana, Kuṭimbiya and Keḷayaṅgaṇa, the birthplace of the warrior Veḷusumana.⁴⁴

The ancient name of *Mulgirigala Vihāra* is given in a 12th century inscription there as Muhundgiri Vihāra. Kāvaṇṭissa is said to have built Samudda Vihāra and this may be identical with Muhundgiri because the inscribed caves there date from the 2nd century B.C. The Sinhalese Chronicles ascribe to Jetṭhatissa I (263-274) the building of Mulgiri Vihāra: the *Kaṭagamuva* inscription of Mānābharāṇa of the 12th century records a grant to Talāmuhundgiri Vihāra and there were, apparently, two Vihāras named Muhundgiri, one of which was modern *Mulgirigala*. The Rājāvaliya wrongly equates Dakkhinagiri Vihāra, which was near Sigiri, with *Mulgirigala Vihāra*.⁴⁵

On a rock called *Vāḍigala*, about 1½ miles from *Ranna* towards *Tangalla*, there are two inscriptions of the 1st century and one of the 4th century. There was a thūpa here in ancient times but all traces of it have nearly vanished owing to recent quarrying of the rock. The old name of the site as given in the inscriptions was Kamuhajivi Vihara: also mentioned in the inscriptions are (i) Samayutagama; (ii) Kaḷa-vahanakaja tank; and (iii) tracts of fields named Paḍala, Rihala, and Hamara.⁴⁶

Kahagal Vihāra near *Ranna* is named Kacagala Vihara in a 2nd century inscription there. This is identical with Kasāgalu Vihāra built (? restored) by Dappula of Rohaṇa (circa 659) and Kāsagalla Vihāra restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110).⁴⁷

42. *M.* 79. 82; *Puj.* 29; *Raj.* 57.

43. *A.I.C.* 76; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 24.

44. *M.* 23. 49, 68; *E.M.* 23. 79, 110; *M.T.* 452, 18; 454. 24; *Thv.* 133, 135; *E.H.B.* 121.

45. *Dhv.* 83; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 44, 51; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 122.

46. *A.I.C.* 69.

47. *M.* 60. 61; *Puj.* 29; *Raj.* 57; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 120, 121.

Vīgamuva Vihāra, also near *Ranna*, is called *Vagoṇu* in a 5th century inscription *in situ*. In other inscriptions of the 3rd and 7th centuries the following place-names occur:—(i) *Varaṇatoṭa*; (ii) *Abavika*; and (iii) *Aharavika*.⁴⁸

The area to west of the *Valavē Gaṅga* was called *Dvādasasahassa* or *Dolosdahas-rata*, 'the district of 12,000 villages', and its capital was *Mahānāgahula*, called *Mānāvulu* in Sinhalese literature, and identified by Paranavitana as present *Rambhā Vihāra*, about 8 miles from *Ambalantōta* on the road to *Āmbilipitiya*. *Mahānāgahula* was the scene of much activity during the campaigns of *Vijayabāhu I*, who made it his capital, and of *Parakkamabāhu I* in the 11th and 12th centuries. It was from *Mahānāgahula* that *Vijayabāhu* launched his decisive attack upon the *Cōlas*. *Gajabāhu II* resided there and *Parakkamabāhu* lived there as a youth with his uncle.⁴⁹

Bodhivāla is modern *Bōvala*, 3 miles south-east of *Kirama*.⁵⁰

On the *Hiraññamalaya* or *Suvañṇamalaya* range of hills, identified by Codrington with present *Raṇmalakanda*, north-west of *Kirama*, was the *Remuṇa* rock where *Vijayabāhu* fortified himself. *Mahāpabbata* was also a peak in this range. These hills were used not only as defensive fortifications but also to launch offensive forays and raids on the lowlands to the south.⁵¹

Tambalagāma, a stronghold and temporary residence of *Vijayabāhu*, was in the vicinity of *Talāva*, about 15 miles north-west of *Ambalantōta*.⁵²

Nadibhaṇḍagāma has been identified by Codrington as *Ōbaḍa*, 5 miles north-west of *Vīrakāṭiya*. *Parakkamabāhu*'s general attacked the strong fortification here from *Mahāsenagāma* and won a victory which opened the way to *Mahānāgahula*. There was an old saying, 'they looked for the tolls at *Māsengamuva*'.⁵³

Mālavaratthalī was situated between *Raṇmalakanda* and *Māmaḍola*: Codrington places it in the vicinity of *Talāva*.⁵⁴

Simātālatthalī was situated between *Ōbaḍa* and *Ūrubokka*, and Codrington suggests that the name implied a boundary town, probably on the *Giruva Pattu* boundary.⁵⁵

The line dividing the wet and dry zones runs roughly from *Tangalla* to *Valasmulla*, the area to west being the wet zone. In early times, population decreased as the wet zone was approached.

48. C.J.S. (G), II. 120.

49. M. 61. 22, 24 : 58. 39 : 60. 90 : 61. 23 : 63. 4 : 75. 19, 156, 160 ; *Thv.* 133, 135 ; A.S.C.A.R., 1955, 72.

50. M. 57. 55.

51. M. 57. 62 : 75. 62, 158.

52. M. 58. 10, 38.

53. M. 75. 104, 109 ; *Puj.* 142.

54. M. 75. 66-68, 157.

55. M. 75. 101.

CHAPTER VII

THE MĀTARA DISTRICT

The present *Mātara District* was a part of ancient *Rohaṇa*. The entirety of it is in the wet zone where paddy cultivation by irrigation is not feasible. The hinterland, comprising *Moravak Kōralē*, is mountainous. The coastal region may have been sparsely populated in early times, but the interior was not opened up and settled much before the 10th century. There is a marked absence of ancient monuments, so prolific in the dry zone, and this is good evidence of the paucity of settled population.

In his monograph entitled 'The Shrine of Upulvan at Devundara',¹ Dr. Paranavitana has dealt exhaustively with the history, the architecture, the worship and the inscriptions at *Devanagara*, modern *Devundara*. According to the *Cūlavamsa*, *Dappula*, independent ruler of *Rohaṇa* (circa 659), founded *Khadirāli Vihāra*. A 9th century inscription at *Devundara* refers to the temple as *Kihirāli Piriveṇa* (= P. *Khadirāli Pariveṇa*) of *Giriyaḷa*: this, then, was its original name. The Sinhalese Chronicles ascribe the foundation of *Devnuvara* or *Devunuvara Vihāra* first to *Dappula* (*Dāpūlusen*), then to *Aggabodhi IV* (667-683), and finally to *Mānavamma* (684-718). *Vikkamabāhu I* (1029-1042) visited the town of *Devanagara* when he had completed his preparations to attack the *Cōlas*, who were then rulers of Ceylon, but he fell ill and died there. *Vijayabāhu I* (1055-1110) restored *Devanagara Vihāra*. During the 12th century civil war, *Parakkamabāhu*'s troops fought an action at *Devanagara*. *Nissaṅka Malla* (1187-1196) records that he visited *Devinuvara* and had the temples there repaired. *Parakkamabāhu II* (1236-1271) visited the temple, worshipped the 'Lotus-headed God', and erected the *Nandana Pāsāda*: later, he restored the whole temple and celebrated an *Āsālhi* festival every year for the god. *Parakkamabāhu IV* (circa 1302) built at *Devapura* a long temple of two storeys with four pairs of gates for the Image of the recumbent Buddha: to the Image House he assigned the village of *Gaṇṭhimāna*, present *Gāṭamāna*. The general of *Bhuvanekabāhu IV* (1346-1353) built a 3-storeyed Image House for the standing Image of the Buddha. In the *Galle* trilingual slab inscription, the list of offerings made at *Tenavarai* (*Devinuvara*) on behalf of the Chinese Emperor, *Yung-lo*, (1410) is recorded in Chinese, Arabic and Tamil. In the 9th century inscription in which the shrine is named *Kihirāli-piriveṇa* of *Giriyaḷa*, the following villages are declared dedicated to it:—(i) *Salkeyal*; (ii) *Māguḷa*, which may be

1. A.S. Memoirs, Vol. VI, (1953).

Māgallagoḍa, near *Nāimana North*; (iii) *Uḍumaharoja*; (iv) *Mahavela*; and (v) *Paṇavara*. The second inscription at the site is of *Parakkamabāhu II* and it mentions *Tenḍiratota*, the name of the seaport at *Devinuvara*. The third inscription, of *Parakkamabāhu VI* (1410-1467) grants to the *Vihāra*:—(i) *Nāymana*, modern *Nāimana*; (ii) *Suṅgaṅgola*, modern *Huṅgaṅgola*; (iii) *Pagala-Karamullai*, now *Pahala Karamulla*; and (iv) *Vērdūvai*, modern *Vēradūva*.² The fourth inscription of *Vijayabāhu VI* (1515) grants to the *Kōvil* named *Nagarīsa* at *Devinuvara* fields at:—(i) *Paravāsara*, present *Paravahara*, and (ii) *Pātēgama* in *Nāvaḍunna*, present *Pātēgama* and *Nāoiunna*.³

The *Kuṣṭarājagala* at *Vāligama* is thus described by Dr. Paranavitana:—“It is of colossal size and represents a figure in kingly attire, but the *Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha* on the head-dress and the lotus held in the hand indicate that it depicts *Avalokiteśvara* as has already been suggested by Dr. Nell. There is a local tradition that this figure represents a foreign king who left his native country because he suffered from leprosy, landed at *Vāligama* and was cured by a local physician. This tradition seems to preserve in a distorted way some facts regarding the *Bodhisattva Avalokita*. One aspect of this *Bodhisattva*, that known as *Simhanāda Lokeśvara*, is considered by the *Mahāyānists* to be the curer of all diseases and is particularly invoked to cure leprosy. It is stated that ‘the first success of Lamaism among the Mongols was due to the cure of a leprous king by means of the *Simhanāda Sādhana*’. But the iconographical representation of this form of *Avalokita*, as found in northern Buddhist countries, differs from that of the *Vāligama* figure. It may be possible that the particularisation of this aspect of *Avalokita*’s beneficent influence with a distinct iconographical form was of later date than this sculpture and that the cure of leprosy was originally attributed to this *Bodhisattva* in a more general form. There is another tradition prevailing among the educated Buddhists that this figure is that of the god *Nātha* The word *Nātha* means ‘Lord’ and is only a shortened form of the fuller epithet ‘*Lokeśvara Nātha*’. It is hardly necessary to mention that the epithet *Lokeśvara* is one of the most familiar of the many names of *Avalokiteśvara* and was the one by which he was best known in *Cambodia* and *Java*. The modern belief that *Avalokita* of *Vāligama* is *Nātha* provides further circumstantial evidence of the identity of the two”.⁴

Parakkamabāhu’s troops from *Pasduṇ Kōralē* advanced down the coast to attack the rebels in *Rohaṇa* and reached *Mahāvālukagāma* or *Vālukagāma*, modern *Vāligama*. This place was then a seaport of some importance and the *Chronicle* says that there were many merchants

there ‘to whom their life and their money were dear’. *Parakkamabāhu*’s general offered pardon and protection to all those who came over to his side, and the merchants, together with many inhabitants of the area, surrendered, so that *Vāligama* was captured without much fighting. A *Vihāra* was built at *Valliggāma* (*Vāligama*) in the reign of Queen *Kalyānavatī* (1202-1208). *Parakkamabāhu IV* (1303-1330) built at *Valliggāma Vihāra* a long *pāsāda* of two storeys named *Parakkamabāhu Pāsāda*, and granted it the village of *Sāligiri*, present *Ālgiriya*, 6 miles from *Vāligama*.⁵

Continuing their advance from *Vāligama*, *Parakkamabāhu*’s troops broke up into columns which fought actions at *Kammaragāma* (*Kamburugamuva*), *Mahāpanālagāma* (*Pālāna*), *Mānakapiṭṭhi*, *Nilavālatittha* (*Mātara*) and *Devanagara* (*Devundara*), and converged on *Kadalipatta* in order to cross the *Nilvala Gaṅga* in force. The rebel forces took their stand at *Mahākhetta* to oppose the crossing, but *Parakkamabāhu*’s forces broke through and crossed to the opposite bank at *Dīghāli*. *Codrington* suggests that *Mahākhetta* was *Pārādūva*, near *Akurāssa*, where there is an extensive stretch of fields on one side of the river and a long channel (*dik-āla*) on the other.⁶

Conjointly with the attack down the coast, *Parakkamabāhu* sent strong forces from *Deṇavaka* and *Navadun Kōralē* to advance into *Moravak Kōralē* and descend the hills into *Giruva Pattu*. These forces captured rebel strongholds at *Madhutthala*, present *Mīgoda* near and to south-east of *Ūrubokka* (*Codrington*), and at *Sūkarāli-Bheripāsāṇa*, present *Ūrubokka* and *Beralapānātara* (*Codrington*). A *Vihāra* named *Bheripāsāṇa* existed in early times.⁷

The *Panākaḍuwa* Copper Plate of *Vijayabāhu I*’s 27th year (1082/83) is a grant of privileges to *Ruḥuṇa-ḍaḍanāyaka-Sitnarubim-Budalnāvan* (Lord *Budal* of *Sitnarubim*, *Daṇḍanāyaka* of *Ruḥuṇa*). *Sitnarubim*, it would appear, was the name of the territorial division around modern *Panākaḍuwa* in *Moravak Kōralē*.⁸

5. *M.* 75. 36-46 : 80. 38 : 90. 96, 97.

6. *M.* 72. 63 : 75. 47-61.

7. *M.* 75. 98, 147 ; *E.H.B.* 120.

8. *E.Z.* V, 1 ff.

2. All these identifications are by *Paranavitana*.

3. *M.* 45. 59 : 56. 6 : 60. 59 : 75. 47 : 83. 49-51 : 85. 85 : 90. 94, 95 ; *Puj.* 29 30 ; *Raj.* 57 ; *A.S.M.*, VI. 62, 69, 74, 77 ; *E.Z.* I. 135 : II. 119, 141, 177 : III. 331.

4. ‘*Mahāyānism in Ceylon*’, *C.J.S.* (G) II. 49, 50, 53.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GALLE DISTRICT

The *Galle District*, like the *Mātara District*, was a part of Rohaṇa and was situated in the wet zone. It had no irrigation works and its settled population in ancient times was scanty. The earliest ancient monument which has survived is an inscribed pillar of the 10th century. The terrain begins to be hilly a few miles from the coast, and the hinterland is mountainous.

Bhīmatittha or Bentota, modern *Bentota*, was in Pañcayojana (*Pasdun Kōralē*) in the 12th and 13th centuries. In an inscription of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) at Galpāta Vihāra, now called *Galapāta Vihāra*, at *Bentota*, the following places are named as assigned to the Vihāra:—(i) Siyambalāpaya, in which was Sumbulupat-hālla which had been rendered suitable for cultivation; (ii) Ṭṅgavatu, present *Timbavatuva* or *Timbotuwa* (Bell) in *Bentota Tāvalama*, bounded on the east by the pond of kumbuk trees, on the south by the lagoon, and on the north by the street; (iii) Tiratenayāvatta, modern *Tiritenayāvatta* (Bell); (iv) Isamviṭivatta; (v) Beravāgama, in which was Pañs-polvatta; (vi) Kasagalugoḍa, present *Kasagallota* (Paranavitana); (vii) the islands Dharmmanandana and Manonandana in the lagoon; (viii) Bolutuḍāva, present *Bolotuḍāva* (Bell); and (ix) Nissamkagala, present *Nissangala* (Bell), in *Beravāgoḍa*, bounded on the east by the lagoon, on the south by the kōn tree, on the west by Arambōḍa of Kakuḷuvā-gala, present *Kākulāgala* (Paranavitana), and on the north by Ilubāssa in Kitkevuvā. Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic of Mahāthera Mahākassapa which was enshrined at Bhīmatittha (*Galapāta*) Vihāra.¹

Across the Salgamu-hoya, present *Hikkaduwa Gaṅga*, at Sālaggāma, the Minister of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) built a bridge 40 staves (300 feet) long: Sālaggāma was on the river bank and the village was later assigned to Titthagāma Vihāra, present *Toṭagamuvā Vihāra*. Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) built a pāsāda in Titthagāma Vihāra. A 10th century inscription on a stone pillar at this temple mentions the place Mahabālagam.²

At the Sālapādapa swamp or Salgas-hoya the same Minister of Parakkamabāhu II built a bridge of 100 cubits. He also cleared the Mahālabujagaccha or Mahadelgas forest, founded there a village which was named after the forest, planted a large grove of jak trees, and erected an Image House and a Cetiya.³

Gimhatittha and Gālu-nadī which figure in the civil war during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) are modern *Gintota* and the *Gin Gaṅga* respectively (Geiger).⁴

CHAPTER IX

THE MANNĀR DISTRICT

The *Mannār District* in the north-west of Ceylon is the most arid region in the Island: it has a low rainfall during the north east monsoon and a prolonged and acute period of drought from May to September every year. Its coast is the nearest part of Ceylon to Southern India: therefore, this maritime area became, by proximity to the Indian mainland, not only the commercial coast for shipping and external trade, but also, the vulnerable invasion coast upon which the dominant South Indian power for the time being (Pāṇḍya or Cōla) launched, at various times, its ravaging sea-borne attacks. No less important than the proximity to India in promoting foreign trade in this region was the richness of the famed Pearl Banks, known from great antiquity, which lay off the north-west coast immediately to south of the island of *Mannār*; chanks, in which too there was a considerable trade, were abundant in the waters both north and south of *Mannār* island: and, in the forests of the immediate hinterland, were many elephants, also an important export product from early times.

The District is almost uniformly flat and the main river which flows through it is the *Malvatta Oya*, known as the *Aruvi Āru* in its lower course. The tanks are shallow with comparatively low bunds. There are several lagoons with large stretches of infertile, open land around them.

The antiquity of the *Mannār District* goes back beyond the beginnings of Ceylon history to the legends and traditions associated with the original arrival of the Northern Indians who founded the first civilised settlements in the Island. In the legend of Vijaya it is related that he and his men sailed down the west coast of India from Suppāraka (now *Sopāra*, north of *Bombay*) and landed in Iṅkā at Tambapaṇṇi: because their hands were stained by the copper-coloured earth when they threw themselves ashore they called their landing-place, as well as the township close by which they later established, and the whole Island, Tambapaṇṇi. The *Dīpavaṁsa*, the oldest of the Ceylon Chronicles, states that Tambapaṇṇi was 'on the most lovely south bank of the river'. The *Rājāvaliya*, the latest and least reliable of the Sinhalese Chronicles, alone states that Vijaya's ships made for land in the direction of Ruhuṇa (misinterpreting the word 'south') and when they sighted Sumanakūṭa (*Adam's Peak*) they steered their ships for the shore and landed. The river referred to in the *Dīpavaṁsa* is undoubtedly the Kadamba-nadī (present *Malvatta Oya* or *Aruvi Āru*). The story of Vijaya is one which, in its literal form, cannot be credited,

1. M. 85. 16, 17, 81; *Puj.* 49; *E.Z.* IV. 208.

2. M. 86. 41; *Puj.* 49; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 184, 185, 198.

3. M. 86. 42, 49-54; *Puj.* 49.

4. M. 75. 23, 24.

but there is nothing in the story to create a reasonable doubt about the factual existence of a place named Tambapañni. It is described as one of the earliest ports and the first settlement of the Indo-Aryan immigrants, and there is every reason to suppose that it still existed at the time the Chronicles were compiled. Its situation, according to the Dipavaṃsa, was near the mouth and on the south bank of the *Aruvi Aru*, that is, assuming the river has not changed its course, in the vicinity of modern *Ärippu*. This is supported by other evidence. A voyage down the west coast of India would have rendered a landing in Ceylon to north of the shoals and sandbanks now known as *Adam's Bridge* a perilous undertaking because of the hazards of the passage through either the *Pāmben* or the *Mannār* channels: safer navigation through these straits was probably discovered later, after they had become familiar to mariners. The Pāṇḍyan princess who came to Ceylon to be Vijaya's queen is said to have landed at Mahātitttha (*Māntai*) and then proceeded to Tambapañni: here again was an avoidance of the *Adam's Bridge* passages and the employment of a safer route direct from the Pāṇḍyan coast to a port in Ceylon to north of *Adam's Bridge*. Vijaya lived 38 years at Tambapañni and every year he sent the Pāṇḍyan king a present of pearls: we may infer, therefore, that Tambapañni was in the vicinity of the Pearl Banks. The next capital after Tambapañni was Upatissagāma, and after that the royal city was permanently established at Anurādhapura, so that the movement inland was up the valley of the *Malvattu Oya*, from Tambapañni to Anurādhapura. The ruins of Tambapañni have not yet been discovered, and if any remains exist they probably lie not far from the sea in the neighbourhood of Ärippu.¹

Equally ancient, but soon attaining far greater importance than Tambapañni, was the port of Mahātitttha, modern *Māntai*, on the main land opposite the town of *Mannār*, a seaport renowned throughout the east in ancient and medieval times. In Sinhalese literature and inscriptions it is called variantly Mahavoti, Mahapuṭu, Mahavuṭu, Mavatutoṭa, Mahapaṭana and Mātoṭa, and in Tamil, Mātōṭṭam. It is now a truly buried city, its ruins lying in the great mound at *Māntai* from which rises the Hindu temple of *Tirukēśvaram*. Like Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, Mahātitttha was a walled city. The main export products of Ceylon, pearls, precious stones, cinnamon, spices and elephants, passed out of the country chiefly through this famous harbour. Ptolemy's exceptional account of Ceylon, written in the middle of the 2nd century, names it Modouttou. In the 6th century Ceylon attained great commercial importance as the centre and entrepot of sea trade in the Indian Ocean: Persian and Axumite ships and the sailors of Adulis from the West, the shipping of India, and the

mariners and merchants of China and other far-Eastern countries, met in the harbour of Mahātitttha.²

There is evidence of strong Hindu influence at Mahātitttha. Dr. Paranavitana has referred to the statement in the *Dāthāvaṃsa* that there was a Hindu shrine at Mahātitttha in the reign of Sirimeghavanna (301-328), and to the *Tevāram* hymns in which the Tamil saint, Nāṇasambandar, sings the praises of Śiva who had his abode there: he alludes also to a common imprecation in Sinhalese inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries which reads, 'may he who violates this edict incur the sins of a killer of cows at Mahavuṭu'. All this emphasises the Hindu sanctity of the place and the reverence paid to it by Sinhalese Buddhists. The population of Mahātitttha would have included a large number of foreign merchants, most of whom must have been Indian: hence the pre-dominance of the Hindu element among the non-Buddhist residents and floating population. Although commerce and trade were largely in foreign hands, the Sinhalese inscriptions speak of the Sinhalese king's officers by whom the place was administered: the customs dues would have yielded a considerable revenue and, no doubt, adequate administrative machinery was set up to secure its collection on the king's behalf.³

The Chronicles mention Mahātitttha mainly in connection with invasions: as the key port it naturally had to be captured first to enable it to be used as the main base for supplying the invading troops and maintaining communications with their homeland. The first reference, as already stated, is to the landing of the Pāṇḍyan princess in the reign of Vijaya, traditionally in the 6th century B.C. The *Rājāvaliya*, which is frequently inaccurate, states that the Cōḷa conqueror, Eḷāra, early in the 2nd century B.C., landed with his army at Mahavatutoṭa which it erroneously locates at the mouth of the *Mahavūli Gaṅga*, but in a later passage it equates the place correctly with Mahātitttha. The Cōḷa reinforcements which arrived in Ceylon in B.C. 161 under the general Bhalluka to give aid to Eḷāra, landed at Mahātitttha and pushed rapidly forward to Anurādhapura, but their intervention was too late as Eḷāra had already been slain in battle. Iḷanāga (33-43), deprived of his throne by the Lambakannas, embarked at Mahātitttha on his flight to the Keraḷa kingdom where he stayed 3 years before he was able to return and regain the sovereignty. Though the Chronicle does not expressly say so, it is very probable that the Sinhalese prince, Mānavamma, who made two invasions of Ceylon in Pallava ships and with Pallava armies provided by the Pallava kings, Naraśimhavarman I and II, landed each time at Mahātitttha: his first attempt to secure the throne of Ceylon had to be abandoned after he had captured Anurādhapura and victory was in sight because the Pallava troops were recalled to their own country owing to the serious illness of their

2. See Bibliography at end of Chapter I.

3. *E.Z.* I. 245 : II. 235 : III. 133, 135, 225.

1. *M.* 6. 47 : 7. 40, 41, 58, 73, 74 : 8. 4 : 11. 20-26, 38, 39 : 19. 4-23 ; *D.* 9. 30-44, as corrected at *C.J.S.* (G) I. 11, 12 ; *Puj.* I ; *Raj.* 16.

king, but the second invasion was entirely successful and Mānavamma became king of Ceylon in 684. From about the year 775, the power of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom continued to expand rapidly, and an invasion of Ceylon appears to have been apprehended in the reign of Aggabodhi VII (772-777) because the prince Mahinda was stationed at Mahātittha by the king's orders. The invasion actually came in the reign of Sena I (833-853), and the Pāṇḍyans, after landing presumably at Mahātittha and other northern ports, first laid waste the northern province (Uttararattha), being joined by many Damiḷas who were resident in various places in that region: it is specifically stated that this local reinforcement gave substantial aid to the invaders. The Sinhalese army suffered a crushing defeat and the king abandoned Anurādhapura and fled inland. Anurādhapura was sacked, and Sena I was compelled to make a humiliating capitulation, paying a heavy tribute and indemnity, in addition to surrendering the entire royal regalia and treasure, to regain the throne. In the year 862 (the 9th year of Sena II of Ceylon), the Pāṇḍyan prince, Varaguṇa, who had been ill-treated by his father, king Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha (the monarch who had invaded and subjugated Ceylon in the reign of Sena I), came to Ceylon and invoked the armed assistance of the Sinhalese king to secure the Pāṇḍyan throne. At this time the Pāṇḍyans were under attack by the Pallavas and the moment was favourable for a Sinhalese counter-invasion to erase the disgrace of the earlier defeat and to recover the royal regalia. Sena II therefore assembled a large expeditionary force at Mahātittha for the invasion of Pāṇḍya and personally supervised its embarkation. The expedition gained complete success: the Pāṇḍyan army was defeated and the Pāṇḍyan king, though he escaped from the battlefield, died of his wounds: Madhurā was sacked, the Sinhalese regalia and treasures recovered and Varaguṇa II consecrated as king of Pāṇḍya. The victorious Sinhalese army returned to Mahātittha and were received with honour by their king who had remained at the port while his troops were absent abroad. The Cōḷa power was now gaining the ascendancy in South India and in 915 inflicted a major defeat on the Pāṇḍyan army. The Pāṇḍyan king sent urgent messages and gifts to the Sinhalese king (Kassapa V, 914-923), requesting military aid in his desperate struggle with the Cōḷas. A Sinhalese army embarked at Mahātittha and landed in Pāṇḍyan territory: in the decisive battle of Vellūr which followed, the combined Pāṇḍyan and Sinhalese armies were defeated by the Cōḷas after a long and severe struggle. The Cūlavamsa states that the Sinhalese king recalled his army to its own country because there was an outbreak of plague among the troops, but the defeat at Vellūr was the more probable reason for their withdrawal. In the reign of Udaya III (935-938) the Pāṇḍyan king, Rājasimha, abandoned his kingdom to the Cōḷas, took ship and landed at Mahātittha and sought the protection of the Sinhalese monarch. An attempt to organise an expeditionary force in his support failed because the Sinhalese nobility and generals were opposed to such an enterprise, and the Pāṇḍyan ruler left Ceylon

for the Keraḷa kingdom, leaving his diadem and regalia in the custody of the Sinhalese king. In 946 or 947, Parāntaka I, the Cōḷa king, demanded of the Sinhalese king, Udaya IV, the surrender of the Pāṇḍyan regalia, and receiving a refusal, invaded Ceylon and defeated the Sinhalese army. Udaya IV took refuge in Rohaṇa with the Pāṇḍyan regalia but the Cōḷa forces made no determined effort to seek him there and returned to South India.⁴

In 993 the great Cōḷa king, Rājarāja I, conquered and occupied Rājaraṭṭha, that is, all of the northern half of Ceylon. Chaotic conditions in the Island facilitated this conquest. Rājaraṭṭha became a province of the Cōḷa Empire and the Cōḷa king's Viceroy established his seat at Polonnaruva. Rājaraṭṭha itself and important places were given Cōḷa names. A Cōḷa officer named Tāḷi Kumaran built a temple called Rājarājēśvara at Mātōṭṭam (Mahātittha) which was renamed Rājarājapura. In 1027, Rājendra I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I, completed the conquest of Ceylon by subjugating Rohaṇa: the Sinhalese king (Mahinda V) and his family who had taken refuge in that principality were taken prisoner and sent to the Cōḷa country, and all the royal regalia and treasures were captured. It was not until 1055/56, when Vijayabāhu I assumed the formal rulership of Rohaṇa, that resolute resistance to Cōḷa rule began to be organised in Rohaṇa. In 1065 the preparations for war being made by the forces of liberation had reached an advanced stage and a premature revolt broke out in Rājaraṭṭha: the Cōḷa king despatched a powerful reinforcement which landed at Mahātittha and proceeded to suppress the rebellion with savage ferocity. In the following year Vijayabāhu won a great victory over the Cōḷa general in Ceylon, pursued the fleeing Cōḷa army and captured Polonnaruva. The Cōḷa monarch organised with great speed the embarkation of strong forces for Ceylon to aid his viceroy: they landed at Mahātittha and, while advancing to Anurādhapura, were intercepted by the Sinhalese army upon whom they inflicted a paralysing defeat. In 1070, after Cōḷa rule over Ceylon had lasted 77 years, Vijayabāhu delivered the two-pronged attack which, at long last, brought deliverance and freedom once more to the Sinhalese. One column advanced through the *Kurunāgala* and Anurādhapura districts with Mahātittha as its objective, while the other column moved up the east coast and turned inland to lay siege to the Cōḷa seat of government at Polonnaruva. The western column captured Mahātittha, thus severing the communications of the Cōḷas with their homeland, depriving them of their main base, and cutting off the escape of the main body of the Cōḷa army at Polonnaruva. Polonnaruva fell, no aid came from South India and the Cōḷa forces were annihilated. In 1085 Vijayabāhu I despatched two divisions, one to Mahātittha and the other to another northern port, to embark

4. *M.* 25. 79: 35. 25: 48. 81: 50. 12-43: 51. 27-47: 53. 5-9, 40-47; *Raj.* 25. 42; *E.Z.* V. 103-107; 'A History of South India' by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 151, 154; 'The Cōḷas' by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 120-123.

on a punitive expedition against the Cōlas, but the Velakkāra division of the army, largely Cōlas and other South Indians, revolted because they were unwilling to participate in operations against their own countrymen, and the expedition had to be called off. In 1100/01 there appears to have been a threat of a Cōla invasion because Vijayabāhu I marched with his army to the seaport (presumably Mahātittha) and stayed there some time awaiting the Cōla landing: but no attack materialised.⁵

About 1111/12, Viradeva, described as 'a warrior, lord of the Ariya country and sole sovereign of Palandipa', landed with an invading army at Mahātittha. Vikkamabāhu, ruler of Rājaraṭṭha, advanced to Mannāra (*Mannār*) to fight him but was defeated: Viradeva pursued the retreating Sinhalese forces beyond Polonnaruwa, but was there trapped into fighting in a swampy wilderness, defeated and slain.⁶

In 1169, the 16th year of Parakkamabāhu I, a revolt which broke out in the district around Mahātittha was suppressed by military action: the causes of disaffection which gave rise to the revolt are not known. In the same year, Parakkamabāhu's army, commanded by the Senāpati Laṅkāpura, embarked at Mahātittha on its invasion of Pāṇḍya, reached the Pāṇḍyan coast in 24 hours, and landed at the roadstead Talaḍilla. A Cōla inscription of the year 1178 states that news was received in the Cōla kingdom that Parakkamabāhu I was building ships and assembling troops at Mātōṭṭam (Mahātittha) and other ports in Ceylon in order to make a fresh invasion of the Cōla country and that, to counteract this, the Cōla king organised an expedition, placing at its head prince Śrīvallabha of Ceylon (a nephew of Parakkamabāhu I), which landed in Ceylon, captured and destroyed several places, including Mātōṭṭam, and returned to the Cōla kingdom with much booty. Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) built an Alms Hall at Mahapuṭupa (Mahātittha). Between 1188 and 1200 the Cōlas landed on two occasions at Māvaṭu (Mahātittha) and penetrated as far as Anurādhapura before they were expelled. In 1268, Candabhānu and his Jāvakas made a second incursion upon Ceylon, landed at Mahātittha and occupied the northern plain: the invaders were defeated at Subhagiri (*Yāpahuvva*). For about 20 years from 1283 Ceylon formed a part of the Pāṇḍyan Empire and once again Mahātittha would have become the invasion base of the conquerors. There is no doubt that there were landings by invaders at Mahātittha, other than those recounted above, which have gone unrecorded in the Chronicles and inscriptions.⁷

5. *M. Caps.* 55 to 60; 'The Cōlas' by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 168, 169, 172, 173, 183, 186, 191.

6. *M.* 61. 36-46.

7. *M.* 76. 7, 85: 88. 63: 90. 1-109; *E.Z.* II. 78; *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* XXXI, 385; 'The Cōlas', 366-372, 378, 379; 'A History of South India', 206-208.

Apart from the foreign, commercial colony at Mahātittha, the South Indian element there and in the surrounding countryside must have, from time to time, increased considerably in numbers in consequence of the port being repeatedly used as an invasion base, particularly during the prolonged Cōla conquest in the 11th century and the Pāṇḍyan conquest in the 13th century. The late H. W. Codrington wrote:—'There was a steady stream of immigration from South India through the port of Mahātittha, with the result that the neighbouring country became entirely Tamil. It is noteworthy that, while many Sinhalese place-names remain more or less disguised in the *Jaffna* peninsula and in the *Eastern Province*, now Tamil, this is not the case in the country behind *Mannār*; there these names are purely Tamil'.⁸

Kohāla tank, also called Kehāla and Kehāḷa, near Mahātittha, was constructed by Vasabha (67-111): it is not now identifiable.⁹

Pācinadīpa was an island northward of Mahātittha to which king Saṃghatissa (243-247) used to resort to eat jambu (*S. Mādan*) fruits. Vexed by these visits, the people of the island poisoned the fruits and the king died there after eating the poisoned fruit. The name ('east island') indicates that it was the most easterly of two or more islands and it may be present *Iranaitivu South*.¹⁰

An inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) at *Māntai* records a grant made to the Bahadurāsena Meditation Hall in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura of the three following villages, all situated in the Kuḍakadavukā division of Uturukarā (the northern province):—(i) Pepodatuḍa; (ii) Kumbalhala; and (iii) Tumpokōṇ. Among the immunities granted to these three villages, it is stated that the officers in charge of Mahapuṭu (Mahātittha) and those who reside at the following vihāras shall not enter:—(1) Nā-vehera: there are literary references to a Nāga or Nāgamahā Vihāra in the north; and (ii) Raka-vehera: Moggallāna III (614-619) built a Cetiya temple in Rakkha Vihāra and Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Rakkhacetiya-pabbata Vihāra. Another inscription of Kassapa V refers to the place Samadātiya in Mahavoṭi (Mahātittha) and to immunities granted to the village Sennarugama. The 4 villages and the 2 Vihāras mentioned in these two inscriptions were in the vicinity of Mahātittha.¹¹

The ancient northern province, which included the present *Mannār* district, was called Uttararaṭṭha or Uttarapassa or Uttara-desā in the Pāli Chronicles, the Sinhalese equivalents in medieval

8. Unpublished.

9. *M.* 35. 94; *D.* 22. 7-11; *M.T.* 653, 27.

10. *M.* 36. 70-71; *M.T.* 653, 27.

11. *M.* 44. 51: 60. 58; *Rsv.* 167; *E.Z.* III. 105: IV. 252.

inscriptions being Utarapasa, Uturpasa and Uturukarā (the northern coast). An inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) mentions the village Gaṇagami, situated in Valviṭ in Uturpasa.¹²

Mahapaṭan-jū, mentioned in the Sīgiri Graffiti, means the island of *Mannār*. Mannāra or Maṇṇāram (present *Mannār*) was a village near Mahātittha and Tamil invaders held sway there in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271).¹³

Mānāmatta, also called Mānāmatu and Mānavatu, was the name of a tank and a district. The construction of the tank is ascribed to Dhātusena (455-473). Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Mahānāmamatthaka tank. In the 13th century Tamil invaders occupied this district. Mānāmatta tank was probably present *Giant's Tank*.¹⁴

An inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) grants to Issarasamaṇa Vihāra at Anurādhapura fields at Pahāngama. Pāṇagamu or Pāsāṇagāma tank was built by Dhātusena (455-473) and restored by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186): this is the tank now known as *Pānankāmam* in *Māntai Division*.¹⁵

The *Mannār* coast opposite the Pearl Banks was called Muttākara: here Parakkamabāhu's forces fought two naval actions and brought Uttaraṭṭha (the northern province) under subjection. To retain his hold on this region Parakkamabāhu had a fortress built at the place Pilavasū.¹⁶

Madhupādapatittha or Mipātoṭa was a landing place occupied by Tamil invaders in the 13th century: the name may be preserved in modern *Illupakaḍavai*. Other landing places on the north-west or north coast whose location is uncertain were:—(i) Mattikāvātātīttha; and (ii) Pulacceri or Pulaiccēri.¹⁷

There are four or five references in the inscriptions of the 1st to 3rd centuries to the place Magaṇa-nakara, which is identical with Ptolemy's Margana (south of his Modouttou, which is Mahātittha) and with Magaṇava and Maguṇ of the later Sīgiri Graffiti. Magaṇa-danavva was west of Anurādhapura. From Ptolemy's map and the inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) at *Occāpu Kallu* in *Vilpattu* it is clear that Magaṇa was on the west coast in the neighbourhood of

the mouth of the *Mōderagam Āru*: and, in all probability, the buried town, whose surface remains are still clearly visible at *Mullikulam*, on the north bank and at the mouth of the *Mōderagam Āru*, was the ancient Magaṇa. The Cudataka tank was in Veṇaṇamitiya in Magaṇa-nakara. Near Maguṇa was the fishing village Mahadālgama.¹⁸

A third buried town exists in the *Mannār* district on *Mannār* island on the seashore about half way between *Pēsālai* and *Talai-mannār*: there are mounds and surface remains extending a little inland from the shore, but part of the town appears to have been submerged by the sea. Nothing is known about the history of this ancient site.

Some stone pillars mark the site of a medieval shrine at *Komputūkki*, between *Vidattaltivu* and *Illupakaḍavai*.

At the rock-outcrop known as *Tōnikallu*, 6 miles from *Periyakun-cikulam*, off the *Ākaṭṭimurippu* road, there are two mutilated inscriptions of the 2nd century in which references to grants of fields and of money can be read: this was an ancient monastery.

12. *M.* 35. 59: 47. 3: 48. 83, 95, 112, 155: 50. 14: 70. 63; *E.Z.* I. 246: III. 105, 276; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

13. *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C; *M.* 61. 39: 83. 16; *Puj.* 42; *N.S.* 23.

14. *M.* 79. 35: 83. 16; *Puj.* 27, 42; *N.S.* 23.

15. *E.Z.* I. 39; *Puj.* 27; *M.* 79. 36.

16. *M.* 70. 63, 93.

17. *M.* 60. 34: 83. 17; *N.S.* 23; *Puj.* 42.

18. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) No. 73, 55; *A.I.C.* 20; Codrington, *Coins*, 193; *Dakkhiṇa Vihāra* tablets; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

CHAPTER X

THE JAFFNA DISTRICT

The *Jaffna district* comprises the peninsula and the mainland, separated from each other by the *Elephant Pass* lagoon. Lying off the west coast of the peninsula are several islands. The whole is a flat, semi-arid region: there are no rivers of any size and none of them is perennial. Irrigation works are few and generally of small size, although *Iranaimadu* is a large tank.

Nāgadīpa, the *Jaffna* peninsula, is first mentioned in connection with the story of the Buddha's visits to Ceylon. The inhabitants are named Nāgas and the ruling family is said to have been related to the ruling Nāga family at Kalyāṇi (*Kālanīya*). The Buddha is said to have consecrated a site for worship and to have planted on it a Rājāyatana (Kiripālu) tree. Bhāṭikatissa (143-167) built the Paḷu-dā-gē at the foot of the Kiripālu tree in Nāgadīpa: the Paḷu-dā-gē and the Rājāyatanaadhātu Vihāra are one and the same. Aggabodhi II (571-604) presented the Uṇṇalomaghara dwelling to the Rājāyatanaadhātu Vihāra, as well as an umbrella for the Āmala Cetiya.¹

Jambukola was the port which the envoys of Devānampiya Tissa to the Mauryan Emperor, Asoka, set sail from as well as returned to in the year B.C. 247. (They took 11 days to reach Iāmalitti (*Tāmluk*) at the mouth of the *Ganges*, and 12 days for the return voyage. Fa-Hsien (411-413) also embarked at *Tāmluk* for Ceylon and his voyage took 14 days). The landing of the Bodhi Tree in B.C. 246 took place at Jambukola, which Codrington identifies as modern *Sambilturai*, near *Kankēsanturai*. On the spot where king Devānampiya Tissa awaited the coming ashore of the Bodhi Tree, the Samudda Panasālā was built. A sapling of the tree was planted at Jambukola in the Jambukola Vihāra built by the king. One of the monasteries, if not the whole Jambukola Vihāra, was called Vālikā Vihāra. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Jambukola Vihāra.²

Devānampiya Tissa built Tissamahāvihāra in Nāgadīpa, at or very close to Jambukola. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) repaired its Cetiyaḥara or Vaṭa-dā-gē, and Vohārika Tissa (209-231) effected improvements to the Vihāra.³

1. *M.* 1. 44-70 : 42. 62 ; *Puj.* 32 ; *Raj.* 49.

2. *M.* 11. 23, 28 : 19. 23-26, 60 : 20. 25 : 60. 60 ; *E.H.B.* 112 ; Short History, 14.

3. *M.* 20. 25 : 36. 9, 36.

Pācīnārāma Vihāra, in or just outside Jambukola, was also built by Devānampiya Tissa.⁴

An inscription on gold plate found at *Vallipuram*, near *Point Pedro*, is dated in the reign of Vasabha (67-111) and records that Piyaguka Tisa built a vihāra at Badakara (presumably, present *Vallipuram*), while the Minister, Isigiraya, was governor of Nakadiva (Nāgadīpa). Piyaguka, which is identical with Piyaṅgudīpa or Puvangudiva where 12,000 monks are said to have resided, is modern *Punguḍutivu*.⁵

Near Nāgadīpa was the island Alidīpa whose name was later changed to Karadīpa, present *Kayts*.⁶

Maṅgaṇa Vihāra was in the north and it is stated that there were 60,000 monks there, an obviously impossible figure. Dhātusena (455-473) restored the Vihāra. In association with Maṅgaṇa Vihāra is mentioned Kelāsa or Kolāsa Vihāra.⁷

King Mahallaka Nāga founded Sālipabbata Vihāra in Nāgadīpa.⁸

Ūrātota (modern *Kayts*) is mentioned in the Rājāvaliya as early as the reign of Paṇḍuvāsudeva in the 5th century B.C. The first reliable reference, however, is to the landing of a Vallabha expeditionary force at this port, also called Sūkaratittha and Hūrātota, in the reign of Mahinda IV (956-972): the 'Vallabha' was Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, who claims in an inscription that he extorted tribute from several kings, including the king of Ceylon. A Cōla inscription of the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II mentions the preparations made at Ūratturai and other ports in North Ceylon by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) to make a second invasion of South India and the counter-measures taken to thwart the Sinhalese king's plans. In the 13th century, Sūkaratittha was under occupation by invaders.⁹

Bhallatittha was a port in the north: so was Deberapaṭan or Deberapaṭun. The Cōla inscription mentioned in the preceding paragraph names also Vallikāmam (*Valikāmam*) and Maṭṭivāl (*Matṭuvil*) as ports in north Ceylon where Parakkamabāhu was preparing for invasion.¹⁰

Dhātusena (455-473) founded two vihāras in the north, Thūpaviṭṭhi and Dhātusena.¹¹

4. *M.* 20. 26.

5. *M.* 24. 25 : 25. 104 : 32. 52, 55 ; *Thv.* 213 ; *E.Z.* III. 237.

6. *E.H.B.* 112.

7. *M.* 32. 53 : 38. 48 ; *E.H.B.* 67.

8. *M.* 35. 124.

9. *Raj.* 22 ; *M.* 54. 12 : 83. 17 ; *Puj.* 42 ; *N.S.* 23 ; *Raj.* 58, 62, 64 ; 'The Colas', 366-372, 378, 379.

10. *M.* 36. 43 ; *Puj.* 42 ; *N.S.* 23.

11. *M.* 38. 48.

In the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) Tamil invaders held sway in Vālikagāma or Vāligomu (modern *Valikām*, see above): a few years later invaders were wont to land at Khuddavāligāma, probably the same place. Vāligam is mentioned in the Sigiri graffiti.¹²

The ports of the *Jaffna* peninsula were less important commercially in ancient times than Mahātittha (*Māntai*), but they were frequently used by South Indian and other invaders for making their landings. The *Minipē* inscription states that in the 8th year of Kalyānavati (1209/10) a great host of Demaḷas descended upon Ceylon, overran the whole Island and destroyed the entire social structure and the religious organisation. A Pāṇḍyan prince invaded Ceylon with a Pāṇḍyan army, took possession of the country and ruled at Polonnaruva as Parakkamapaṇḍu II from 1211 to 1214. He was ousted by the Kālinga, Māgha, and his Keraḷa troops: Māgha ruled for 21 years, the period of greatest tribulation which the Sinhalese people have ever undergone. They were sorely persecuted by torture, mutilation, expropriation of property and every form of oppression and pillage. In 1245 the Jāvaka Candabhānu (identified as Śrī Dhammarāja of Tambalinga or Ligor), invaded Ceylon and retained his hold on the *Jaffna* peninsula for 18 years. Then came Pāṇḍyan invasions and a conquest, following a famine in Ceylon, which lasted for 20 years from 1283. This completed the Tamilisation of the *Jaffna* peninsula. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) undoubtedly had complete control over the *Jaffna* peninsula and district, although the Tamil element in the population there was probably predominant as the sequel to earlier invasions and conquests, particularly the Cōḷa conquest which lasted for 77 years from 993 to 1070: his inscription at *Nayinativu* is in Tamil. The repeated Tamil invasions and occupations which began in 1209 and continued till 1303, a period of nearly a century, brought a permanent termination to Sinhalese domination of the *Jaffna* peninsula: the Tamils took possession of that territory and retained it thereafter.¹³

CHAPTER XI

THE VAVUNIYĀ DISTRICT

The present *Vavūniya District* includes the earlier *Mullaitivu District* which fronted the north-east coast. It is a dry zone region, somewhat more elevated inland, well provided with irrigation works though not of great size or elaboration.

One of the earliest and largest pre-Christian cave monasteries in Ceylon was that at *Periyapūliyankulam-malai*, a rocky hill about 7 miles north-east of *Vavūniya*. Within a mile is a smaller cave monastery at *Erupotāna*, and within two miles a third monastery at *Mahakaccatkōḍi* (Sinh. *Tittavālkaḍa*). It is not improbable that these three groups of ruins formed one, great monastery in ancient times. The inscribed caves amount to 38 at *Periyapūliyankulam*, 12 at *Erupotāna* and 5 at *Mahakaccatkōḍi*. The principal donor was the princess Anuradi, the daughter of king Naga and the wife of king Uti: these royal personages are not identifiable in the Chronicles, and they may have been local rulers of the late 3rd or early 2nd centuries B.C. The village Tabakara is mentioned in one inscription at *Periyapūliyankulam*.¹

Another site with pre-Christian cave inscriptions is *Vedūkunari-malai*, about 4 miles southward of *Nedunkēni*.²

Peḷivāpikagāma or Peḷivāpigāma was 7 yojanas (55 to 65 miles) northward of Anurādhapura, and gems are said to have been found in a cave there in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). Parker proposes to identify this tank with modern *Vavunik-Kulam*, but it is very unlikely that a tank of this large size was constructed at this early period.³

Khallāṭanāga (B.C. 110-103) founded Kurundavāsoka Vihāra. There was a Pariveṇa named Kurundacullaka. The Kurundī Aṭṭhakathā was composed at Kurundivelu Vihāra. The village Kurundaka is mentioned in the Commentaries. Aggabodhi I (571-604) is credited with the building of Kurunda Vihāra (the Sinhalese Chronicles call it Kurundu tank), around which he planted a coconut plantation said to have been 3 yojanas (25 to 30 miles) in extent. A minister of Aggabodhi IV (667-683) built a pāsāda in Kurundapillaka Vihāra. Vijaya-bāhu I (1055-1110) restored Kuruindiya Vihāra. It is very probable that all these are variant names of one and the same monastery situated

12. *M.* 83. 17: 88. 23; *Puj.* 42; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

13. *M.* Caps. 80 and 81; *E.Z.* V. 156.

1. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1905, 43-49; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 124.

2. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1905, 43-49.

3. *M.* 28. 39; *Thv.* 163.

in Kurundi-ratṭha, an area corresponding to present *Karikattumūlai South Division of Vavūniya District*: the ancient name is preserved in the ruins at modern *Kuruntan-Ūr*. The Kurundi district was under Tamil domination in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) and was later occupied by the invader Candabhānu. Near Kurunda, Aggabodhi I built Ambilapassava Vihāra.⁴

The ruins at *Tōnigala*, about 6 miles from *Vavūniya* on the *Horovapōtāna* road, are named *Yahisapavata Vihara* in an inscription there of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328). The village *Kaḷubala* is also mentioned.⁵

Rājamittaka, on the boundary of *Uttaradesa* (the northern province) was the scene of a battle. So was *Mahātālitagāma*, where the army of Sena I was defeated by the Pāṇdyans: *Mahātālitagāma* may be identical with *Matalagama* mentioned in a pre-Christian inscription at *Haṇḍagala Vihāra*, near *Kābittigollāva*.⁶

The place *Kokelā* mentioned in the *Sigiri Graffiti* is modern *Kokkilāy*.⁷

Māmaḍuva tank, 8 miles north-east of *Vavūniya*, is called *Mahidavāva* in a 9th century inscription *in situ* and is identical with *Mahindatalāka* tank restored by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186).⁸

A 10th century inscription at *Buddhanahela*, about 7 miles north of *Padaviya*, close to the boundary between the *Vavūniya* and *Anurādhapura* districts, gives the name of the site as *Nāgiriḡala* situated in *Danāḍakadara* division which, at that time, must have extended over parts of both *Vavūniya* and *Anurādhapura* districts. To the *vihāra* was assigned the village *Nānnaru*: *Nānnaru* may be equivalent to *Nakanakara* (P. *Nāga-nagara*), a place mentioned in two early inscriptions.⁹ In a paper to be published shortly, Professor *Paranavitana* identifies *Danāḍakadara* as the district around the main channel issuing from *Dhanavāpi* or *Danāvāva*, later called *Paḍivāpi*, modern *Padaviya*.

4. *M.* 33. 32 : 42. 15, 17 ; 46. 21 : 60. 60 : 83. 16 : 88. 64 ; *Puj.* 28. 42 ; *N.S.* 23 ; *Raj.* 56 ; *E.H.B.* 2, 10-12, 23, 81, 122.

5. *E.Z.* III. 178.

6. *M.* 44. 72 : 50. 14.

7. *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

8. *C.J.S.* (G) II ; III ; *M.* 79. 28-37.

9. *E.Z.* I. 198.

CHAPTER XII

THE PUTTALAM DISTRICT

The *Puttalam District* to the north of *Chilaw* is in the dry zone while that portion of it to the south of *Chilaw* is in the wet zone. The *Vilpattu* region (between the *Kalā Oya* and the *Mōderagam Āru*) of *Puttalam District*, except for its southernmost sector around *Pomparippu*, is an area of numerous, shallow, natural lakes (S. *vila*; T. *villu*) separated by forest and scrub: there are large extents of near-desert formations and stretches of bare land. The soil is infertile and there are no ruins, irrigation works or other vestiges of the settlement of civilised man in the region, but there are abundant remains, in chert and quartz tools, implements and other artefacts, of the existence of pre-historic man. During the historical period of some 25 centuries, the *Villu* area has been an abode of wild life. South of the *Kalā Oya* the land is flat near the coast, but inland there are many rock-groups and low hills. It was well provided with irrigation facilities in ancient times.

Two of the oldest inscriptions in Ceylon are inscribed on caves at *Piccandiyāva*, a large rocky hill 9 miles south-east of the 9th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road. The donor in both cases was the *Brāhmaṇa Gobuti* who was both teacher and physician of *Maharaja Devanapiya Gamiṇi Tissa* who, there is little reason to doubt, is identical with the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, *Devānampiya Tissa* (B.C. 247-207). This hill has numerous, drip-ledged caves in scattered groups at all levels. Adjoining it are two other hills, *Mottamalai*, which has very few ruins, and *Mullēgamakanda*, which has caves, a *thūpa* and other buildings at its foot and a group of caves on its summit. It is very probable that the three hills originally formed one large monastery.¹

Best known, however, of the pre-Christian inscriptions in the *Puttalam District* are the two long and large epigraphs on the rock called *Tōnigala*, near the 39th mile on the *Kurundāgala-Puttalam* road. This rock is an extension of the main and much loftier rock-group called *Paramākanda* which lies to the northward, on which are caves and other ruins. In the inscriptions this rock-group is called *Acagirikatissapavata* (P. *Acchagirikatissapabbata*), and two townships are mentioned, *Acanagara* and *Tavirikiya-nagara*. The tank (un-named) donated to the *vihāra* by the inscription is the small tank, still functioning, below *Tōnigala*. The inscription is dated in the reign of *Devanapiya Maharaja Gamiṇi Abaya*, very probably *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137).²

1. *A.I.C.* 84 ; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 241, note 32 ; *A.I.C.* 83.

2. *A.I.C.* I.

A third extensive pre-Christian monastery with caves, thūpas and stone-pillared ruins scattered over several low, rocky hills is that at *Virandagoḍa*, about 6 miles north-west of the 18th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road. One inscription of the 2nd or 1st B.C. records the donation of a cave by the Nakaravudika (P. Nagaraguttika), the high official who had charge of the capital, Anurādhapura. In a later inscription of Mahinda I (730-733) at this site, the vihāra is named Salvāṇa Vehera situated at Nadunnaru in Kesigamu-bim sub-district.³

Other pre-Christian sites in the *Puttalam District* are:—(i) *Kinagahavāvakanda*, 9 miles east of the 13th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road; (ii) *Kōnvāvakanda*, 2 miles east of the 13th mile on the same road; (iii) *Vēragala* or *Patahēkanda*, 7 miles east of the 10th mile on the same road; (iv) *Lābugala Vihāra*, near the 5th mile on the *Ānamaḍuva-Usvāva* road; and a few others, all bearing epigraphical evidence of their antiquity.⁴

Kālivāpi, also called Keḷivasā, Kālivasā, Kalivāsama, and Keḷavāsa, is attributed both to Vasabha (67-111) and to Dhātusena (455-473). Parakkamabāhu restored Kālivāpi in Dakkhinadesa which Codrington has identified as *Kaliyavadana* in *Piṭṭal Kōralē*.⁵

Uruvelā, a landing place on the western coast, also called, doubtless spuriously, Mahavāligama, was founded, according to one tradition, by a minister of Vijaya, and, according to another, by a brother-in-law of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, and was one of the earliest Indo-Aryan settlements in Ceylon. It was 5 yojanas or 20 gav (40 to 50 miles) to west of Anurādhapura, and pearls are said to have been found on the shore there in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). Like Tambapaṇṇi and Magaṇa, it was a pearling port. Near Uruvelā, King Subha (60-67) founded Valli or Villa Vihāra, recently identified by an epigraph as a group of ruins close to the 21st mile on the *Puttalam-Pomparippu* track. Uruvelā was, therefore, at or near the mouth of the *Kalā Oya*.⁶

To Pucchārāma Vihāra, Udaya I (797-801) granted the rich village of Ussānaviṭṭhi: there is a modern *Uhanpiṭiya*, 8 miles east of Battulu Oya.⁷

At *Galgē Vihāra*, about 8 miles south-east of *Pomparippu*, a 1st century inscription on a cave mentions Kaḍahalaka tank, the

breached tank near the ruins. At *Paṭṭi-eliya*, a few miles north of *Galgē Vihāra*, there is a 10th century pillar inscription containing an immunity grant.⁸

Tabba-ratṭha was the most westerly frontier district of Parakkamabāhu's 12th century principality of Dakkhinadesa: it was the area around present *Tabbova-vāva*, comprising *Rājavanni Pattuva* and the adjacent territory south of the *Kalā Oya* as far as the sea (Codrington). Parakkamabāhu I restored Tabbavāpi, present *Tabbova-vāva*.⁹

An inscription of the 3rd century at *Mālasnegala*, about 5 miles from the 17th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, records the grant of the field below Tisaviya tank at Jayagama in the market-town (niyamatana) of Kaḷedigevi to the Vihāra at the site. The name Kaḷedigevi is doubtless associated with the Kāla-nadī (*Kalā Oya*).

The old name of *Ihala Puliyankulam*, 2 miles north-west of the 17th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, is given in an inscription of the reign of Parakkamabāhu I as Māranhella: the inscription is attested by the governor of Māyā, which means that this locality was in the principality of Māyā at that time.¹⁰

Mallavālāna was a coastal district in the *Puttalam* region where Gajabāhu II had a strong fortress in the 12th century: it was north of Parakkamabāhu's frontier post of Vālikākhettā which Codrington has identified as present *Vellāvela*, near *Battulu Oya*.¹¹

Kalapiti-Kuḷi mentioned in the Sigiri graffiti, is modern *Kalpiṭiya*.¹²

One of Parakkamabāhu's great irrigation projects on the Jajjarā-nadī (*Dāduru Oya*) was the Koṭṭhabaddha scheme. This was an old work in ruin and its maintenance had created difficulties for former kings. Parakkamabāhu's engineers were reluctant to undertake its restoration because they were doubtful whether it would endure, but the prince was more confident and directed that the work be proceeded with. First, a canal was constructed from the dam site to the Rattakāra district and then the Koṭṭhabaddha dam was built very carefully and solidly. The water diverted by the dam was discharged through the canal to the sea, irrigating a vast new stretch of fields en route. The entire area was named Koṭṭhabaddha after the dam. No ruins survive of the great Koṭṭhabaddha dam: it needed

3. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 69-71; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 118; *E.Z.* V. 123.

4. *A.I.C.* 82.

5. *M.* 35. 95: 68. 45; *M.T.* 653; *Puj.* 21, 27; *Raj.* 47.

6. *D.* 21. 47; *M.* 7. 45: 9. 9: 28. 36: 35, 58; *Puj.* 2; *Thw.* 163.

7. *M.* 49. 28.

8. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896. 6: 1954. 38.

9. *M.* 68. 43: 69. 8-12.

10. *J.R.A.S. (C.B.)* XXX, 279.

11. *M.* 70. 60-62.

12. *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

repairs during Parakkamabāhu's reign and the forebodings of his engineers as to its impermanence apparently came true within a few years. The *Sengal Oya* in all probability represents the canal which once bore the waters which the Koṭṭhabaddha dam held back. If this identification is correct, the area between the *Rattambala Oya* and the *Dāduru Oya* was the Koṭṭhabaddha district of Parakkamabāhu's time.¹³

Kirāvāpi in Dakkhinadesa was restored by Parakkamabāhu and has been identified by Codrington as *Kirāvāva*, about 10 miles east of *Chilaw*. Parakkamabāhu also restored in Dakkhinadesa :—(i) Sūkaraggāma tank, present *Ūrapotta*, 3 miles north of *Bingiriya* (Codrington); (ii) Karaviṭṭhavilatta, identified by Codrington as *Karaviṭa* and *Vilattāva* tanks, near *Bingiriya*; and (iii) Vilattākhaṇḍa weir.¹⁴

Mālavalli or Mālavalliya tank, probably present *Malayavelliya*, near *Chilaw*, was restored by Parakkamabāhu.¹⁵

Between 1188 and 1200 the Cōlas landed at Salāvattoṭa, present *Halāvatta* or *Chilaw*, and penetrated as far as Sripura, near modern *Hiripitiya*.¹⁶

CHAPTER XIII

THE KURUNĀGALA DISTRICT

(A). Vanni Hatpattu

The whole of *Vanni Hatpattu* is in the dry zone and it is situated between the *Kalā Oya* and the *Dāduru Oya*; through it flows the *Mi Oya*. It was well provided in ancient times with irrigation facilities, including river-diversion dams, canals, large reservoirs and numerous village tanks. There are many rock-outcrops and several scattered rocky hills.

Giribā-ratṭha was the frontier district of Dakkhinadesa immediately to east of Tabba-ratṭha, and it was the area around modern *Giribāva*, mainly *Mi-Oyen Egoḍa Kōralē* (Codrington). Its northern boundary was the *Kalā Oya*. Parakkamabāhu's general in this district threw a long, solid bridge across the river and crossed to Aṅgamu on the opposite bank. At *Vēragala Vihāra*, a considerable rock of imposing appearance in the modern village of *Giribāva*, there is a pre-Christian cave inscription.¹

Galleṇa Vihāra, 2 miles west of the 47th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Anurādhapura* road, was an important monastery in pre-Christian times. Its founder, according to the cave inscriptions there, was the prince Tisaya, the son of Devanapiya Maharaja Gamāṇi Abaya who, in all probability, was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77). A 1st century inscription at this site mentions :—(i) Aba-aṭasa dam; (ii) Avulada, tract of fields; and (iii) Goḷapaṇa, a village; Goḷapānugāma, also called Goḷagam and Golagam, was granted to the Mahāvihāra by Buddhādāsa (337-365): Golagam is mentioned in the Sīgiri graffiti and Goḷuggamu in a 10th century inscription.²

King Vaṅkanāsikatissa (111-114) built the Mahāmaṅgala Vihāra on the banks of the Goṇa-nadi (*Kalā Oya*). At *Kāḍigala*, a picturesque rock rising from the south bank of the river, about 3½ miles north-west of the 49th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Anurādhapura* road, there is an inscription of the mother of Vaṅkanāsikatissa, and the ruins here are, most probably, those of the ancient Mahāmaṅgala Vihāra. The rock is mounted by flights of over 400 rock-cut steps, with thūpas at foot and summit and other thūpas at mediate levels.³

13. *M.* 68. 16-31 : 79. 66, 67; *Cey. Hist. Journal*, IV, 53, 56.

14. *M.* 68. 45, 48 : 79. 28-37.

15. *M.* 70. 67.

16. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), XXXI, 385.

1. *M.* 70. 123-131.

2. *M.* 37. 173; *Puj.* 24, 25; *Raj.* 54; *A.I.C.* 2; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1935, 10; *E.Z.* I. 42; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

3. *M.* 35. 112-114; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1895, 8; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 123.

Hatthikucchi Vihāra is described in the Pāli Commentaries as a well-known monastery in ancient times, and Buddhaghosa says that on Hatthikucchi-pabbhāra was a cave suited for meditation. Aggabodhi I (571-604) erected a pāsāda in the Vihāra, and so did Aggabodhi VII (772-777). Aggabodhi IX (831-833) rebuilt a ruined pāsāda. A 2nd century inscription at the extensive ruins at *Rājanganē*, 3 miles west of the 45th mile on the *Kurunāgala*-Anurādhapura road, names the site Atiku(c)iya Vihāra : this was, therefore, the ancient Hatthikucchi Vihāra. The cave referred to by Buddhaghosa must be the summit cave on the southern hill : it has a pool of water inside it. In other inscriptions of the 5th to 7th centuries at *Rājanganē*, the following place-names occur :—(i) Sahala ; (ii) Vilagama ; (iii) Magalaya ; (iv) Mañirasagama ; and (v) Huragama. In the Chronicle, Vāhadipa Vihāra is mentioned twice along with Hatthikucchi Vihāra : the Sigiri graffiti mention Vahadiva and Vahadū. Udaya I (797-801) built in Vāhadipa Vihāra the Senaggabodhipabbata pāsāda. The āvāsa, Vahadū, is mentioned in the inscription of Kassapa V (913-923) at Abhayagiri Vihāra.⁴

At *Tōniyagala* and *Paḍigala*, 1 mile south and 3 miles south-west respectively of the 6th mile on the *Galgamuva-Nānnēriya* road, there are ruins with inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.C.

Tōrava Mavilāva Vihāra, a remote and attractive site about 2 miles south of the 7th mile on the *Galgamuva-Nānnēriya* road, has several inscribed caves, two thūpas, many pokuṇas and some ancient stonework. As the cave inscriptions attest the Vihāra was founded in the 2nd century B.C. One cave inscription is a grant by the bojika of Bamaṇaga(ri), another is by the owner of Punapeṭika tank, and a third is by the king's Treasurer. A mutilated rock inscription of the 2nd century is dated in the 4th year of a king whose name is obliterated : it names the site Tisapavata Vihāra and records the grant to it of shares in :—(i) Tisaviya ; (ii) Rataviya ; (iii) Damaviya ; and (iv) Matuka.⁵

At *Sangakpālakanda*, 3 miles north of the 6th mile on the *Galgamuva-Nānnēriya* road, a 2nd century inscription records the donation of shares in Narivigamaka tank to Garimalaka Vihāra.⁶

Anurārāma in Mahādevavarattakurava Vihāra in Kāsikhaṇḍa was restored by Mahānāga (569-571). There is a modern *Kasiketta*, 2 miles north of *Ambanpola*, but no ruins in its vicinity.⁷

4. *M.* 42. 41 : 48. 65 : 49. 33, 76 ; *E.H.B.* 103, 122 ; *E.Z.* I. 56 ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

5. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 119 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 122.

6. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12., 19.

7. *M.* 41. 101.

Moravāpi was a frontier district of Dakkhinadesa immediately to east of Giribā-ṛaṭṭha : it was bounded on the north by the *Kalā Oya* and was an area extending over *Hatalispahē Kōralē West* and the southern portion of *Nāgampaha Kōralē*. Moravāpi is mentioned in the 1st century and is probably the large, breached reservoir south of the *Kalā Oya* in the north-west corner of *Nāgampaha Kōralē*. Dhammaramma tank built by Mahāsenā is also called Morakaparaka : the tanks Biḷora, Paraka and Moravāpi are mentioned in association. Moriya-ṛaṭṭha was, judging by its name, the original home of the Moriya clan, but in Parakkamabāhu's time in the 12th century five Lambakaṇṇa chieftains and their followers lived in Moriya-ṛaṭṭha. Parakkamabāhu restored Moravāpi tank.⁸

At *Paḍipancāva*, 2 miles east of the 44th mile on the *Kurunāgala*-Anurādhapura road, there are caves with a pre-Christian inscription, and at *Līkolavāva*, 2 miles east of the 48th mile on the same road, there are ruins with an inscription of Mahāsenā (275-301).⁹

Parakkamabāhu restored Girisigāmukavāpi, present *Galgamuva* tank. An inscription of a king styled Raja Abaya in characters of the 1st century above the drip-ledge of a collapsed cave near the tank, mentions Vaḍamana village.¹⁰

Mahānāga (569-571) granted Tintinikagāma to the Mahāvihāra. At this place Aggabodhi III (628) was defeated in battle. Parakkamabāhu restored Tintinikagāma tank. Tintinikagāma village and tank have been identified by Codrington as present *Siyambalāgamuwa*, 1 mile east of the 44th mile on the *Kurunāgala*-Anurādhapura road.¹¹

The rebel Moggallāna in the reign of Saṃghatissa (614) advanced from Rohaṇa and occupied an armed camp at Mahāgalla, present *Nikavārāṭṭiya*. Then he advanced towards Anurādhapura and took up a position at Rattivihāra : the decisive battle was fought at Kadalīnivāta, between Rattivihāra and Anurādhapura.¹²

Dēvagiri Vihāra, 4 miles south-east of *Galgamuva*, is called Sitavahanaka Vihāra in a 2nd century inscription *in situ* : also mentioned is the village Navahagama.¹³

Inscriptions of the 2nd century at *Bimpokuna Vihāra*, 5 miles west-south-west of *Galgamuva*, mention :—(i) Niṭileviti tank ; there is a village in this vicinity now called *Niṭalava* (see next paragraph) ; and (ii) Cataha tank.¹⁴

8. *M.* 37. 48 : 38. 13 : 69. 13 ; *E.M.* 37. 47 ; *M.T.* 686 ; *E.H.B.* 83, 85.

9. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1895, 13 : 1911-12, 118.

10. *M.* 68. 49 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 23.

11. *M.* 41. 96 : 44. 125 : 68. 47.

12. *M.* 44. 3-6.

13. *A.I.C.* 53.

14. *A.I.C.* 80 ; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 22.

At *Nillakgama*, near *Nitalava* (see last paragraph), are the ruins of a Bodhighara whose stonework carries exquisite ornamentation. An inscription of the 8th or 9th century there records the gift of ten of the sculptured elephants on the frieze by a resident of Monoragal.¹⁵

At the *Āsvādduma* ruins, 2½ miles east of *Ambanpola*, inscriptions of the 2nd century by a queen and a king's daughter give the ancient name of the site as *Nakaragana Nunnery*. This is most probably identical with the *Nagaraṅga Vihāra* in the southern division of the *Anurādhapura* kingdom founded by *Sūratissa* early in the 2nd century B.C. Also mentioned in the inscriptions are:— (i) *Tacigama*; and (ii) *Mahakoḍapatiya*.¹⁶

Parakkamabāhu restored *Maṇḍika* tank, identified by *Codrington* as present *Māḍiyāva* tank between *Māhō* and *Ambanpola*.¹⁷

In the reign of the *Kālinga* invader *Māgha* (1214-1235) a Sinhalese chieftain built a fortress at *Subhapabbata*, also called *Sundarapabbata*, *Subhacāla* and *Subhagiripura*; it is present *Yāpahuva*, near *Māhō*. From the fortress, forays were made on the invaders in occupation of this locality. *Vijayabāhu* III (1232-1236) fixed *Salagalkandura* as the boundary between his territory and the enemy in occupation of the northern plain and ordered his sons not to go beyond it. *Vijayabāhu* IV (1271-1273) stationed his son at *Subhapabbata* to guard the northern plain against invaders. *Yāpahuva* was the scene of the defeat of the *Jāvaka* invader, *Candabhānu* (*Srī Dhammarāja* of *Tambalinga* or *Ligor*). Thereafter, *Vijayabāhu* IV improved the fortifications, built a rampart and a palace and stationed his younger brother there. *Bhuvanekabāhu* I (1273-1284) transferred his capital from *Dambadeniya* to *Yāpahuva* and greatly improved all the fortress. The *Pāṇḍyans* captured and plundered it and carried off all the royal treasures, including the *Tooth Relic*: *Parakkamabāhu* III (1284-1291) recovered the *Relic* by negotiation. *Yāpahuva* was abandoned after its capture by the *Pāṇḍyans*. Several centuries before it was turned into a fortress, the lower slopes of *Yāpahuva* formed a Buddhist monastery. The present ruins of the fortress-capital of *Bhuvanekabāhu* I preserve its walls and moat and the sculptured stonework of the third staircase.¹⁸

At *Kaikāvala Vihāra*, 1½ miles south of the 13½ mile on the *Māhō-Nikavāva* road, there are inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. and of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.C.¹⁹

At *Ratgallēgama Vihāra*, 2½ miles north of the 13th mile on the *Māhō-Nikavāva* road, there are inscriptions of the 2nd and 6th centuries.²⁰

Diyabātta Vihāra, 1 mile south of the 18th mile on the *Māhō-Nikavāva* road, is an impressive rock nearly as large as *Yāpahuva*. It was a monastery founded in pre-Christian times as its many cave inscriptions testify. In an inscription *in situ* of king *Mahallaka Nāga* (136-143) the monastery is called *Tikaṇaka Vihara* and the *Punakoḍaka* tank is mentioned.²¹

At *Karambē*, 3½ miles west of the 22nd mile on the *Hiripitiya-Polpitiigama* road, there are inscriptions of the 6th century which mention *Kadaragamaya* and *Cahanagamaya*.

Hinukvāva, 3 miles south of the 14th mile on the *Māhō-Nikavāva* road, is an abandoned site of which scarcely any remains exist. A 2nd century inscription there mentions (i) *Kulataka* tank, and (ii) *Abagiriya*.²²

A 1st century inscription at *Dikgala*, near *Timbiriya*, 2 miles north of the 6th mile on the *Nikavarāṭiya-Māhō* road, is unusual in its subject-matter: it reads, 'the thūpa of the 10th *Pratyeka* (private) *Buddha*'.²³

At *Hūlambagala Vihāra*, 8 miles north-east of *Nikavarāṭiya*, a 1st century inscription mentions *Utera* tank.²⁴

A 1st century inscription at *Randenigama*, 5 miles east-north-east of *Nikavarāṭiya*, mentions:—(i) *Mahapitigama*; (ii) *Abayavika*; and (iii) *Kaḍagutaka* tank.²⁵

Kāsavāgama is mentioned in a 10th century inscription at *Itāva*, near *Nikavarāṭiya*.²⁶

Mahāsena (275-301) built *Suḷugaḷu* or *Suguḷuva* tank, present *Huḷugalla-vāva*, 5 miles north-north-east of *Nikavarāṭiya*. *Suḷugaḷu* occurs in a 10th century inscription.²⁷

Mahāgalla tank, also called *Māgaḷu* and *Mahaḷuva*, is present *Māgallavāva* at *Nikavarāṭiya*, and was built by *Mahāsena* (275-301). *Mahāgalla* was granted to the *Mahallarāja* Practising House by *Aggabodhi* III (629-639). The rebel *Moggallāna*, in the reign of *Samghatissa* (614) advanced from *Rohaṇa* and occupied an armed

20. *A.I.C.* 64.

21. *A.I.C.* 48; *U.C.R.*, VIII, No. 2, 123.

22. *A.S.C.A.R.* 1911-12, 118.

23. *C.J.S.* (G), II, 101, 126.

24. *C.J.S.* (G), II, 192, 193.

25. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 118.

26. *E.Z.* III, 143.

27. *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52; *E.Z.* III, 300.

15. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 25.

16. *M.* 21. 4; *M.T.* 424, 5.

17. *M.* 68. 44.

18. *M.* 81. 2: 88. 23-26, 61-78: 90. 5, 34, 35, 43-55; *Puj.* 29.

19. *A.I.C.* 13.

camp at Mahāgalla. Vijayabāhu in 1070 captured the Cōla fort at Mahāgalla. When Parakkamabāhu built the canal now known as *Ridī-Bāndi-Āla*, Mahāgalla tank was enlarged. In a Tamil inscription at *Budumuttāva*, near *Nikavarāṭṭiya*, the place is called Māgala, renamed Vikkīrama Calāmēgapura.²⁸

In developing the resources of his principality of Dakkhinadesa, Parakkamabāhu harnessed the waters of the Jajjarā-nadī (*Dāduru Oya*), by damming the river at three points. The lowest dam, Koṭṭhabaddha, has already been described. Highest up the river was the Sūkaranijj-hara dam at the confluence of the two tributaries, Saṅkhavaddhamā-naka (*Hakvaṭṭuna Oya*) and Kumbhīlavāna (*Kimbulvāna Oya*). The spot is now known as *Dēmōdera* and the ruins of the dam are still to be seen. The waters impounded by the *Dēmōdera* dam were conducted along a channel to Tilagullaka tank, identified by Codrington as present, breached *Talagallavāva*, and the excess passed over the spillway of that tank and down the stream now known as the *Talagalla-āla* to rejoin the *Dāduru Oya* at *Ebavalapīṭiya*. Here was the second or middle dam, called the *Dorādattika* dam. From this dam, a canal, now restored and called the *Ridī-bāndi-āla*, conducted the water to Mahāgalla tank at *Nikavarāṭṭiya*; the bund of Mahāgalla tank was strengthened and a larger spillway built to enable it to contain and discharge the additional volume of water brought down by the new, feeder canal. In the modern restoration, the *Ridī-bāndi-āla* takes off, not from the old dam site at *Ebavalapīṭiya*, but from a new dam built 2½ miles upstream.²⁹

Parakkamabāhu restored the following tanks in the *Nikavarāṭṭiya* area:—(i) Tilagulla tank, present *Talagalla*, south of *Māhō* (Codrington); (ii) Ambavāsā tank, present *Vasiyāva*, near *Nikavarāṭṭiya* (Codrington); (iii) Mahākīrālā tank, present *Mahagirilla*, 5 miles north of *Nikavarāṭṭiya*; and (iv) Ambāla tank, present *Ambāle*, near the 31st mile on the *Kurunāgala-Puttalam* road (Codrington).³⁰

Habugoluva, present *Halbē*, in the sub-district Yagulā-kūliya, is mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa V (898-914) at *Halbē*, 8 miles north-west of *Nikavarāṭṭiya* (Paranavīṭana).³¹

(B). Hiriyāla Hatpattu

Hiriyāla Hatpattu falls within the dry zone. It is a hilly and picturesque area, numerous rocky ranges, some over 1,000 feet high, interrupting the level ground. There were numerous village tanks irrigating the flat, valley-lands, but reservoirs of large size were very few. In early times the southern part of *Hiriyāla Hatpattu* was in Malaya.

Mahīpāla-raṭṭha, a name connected with the *Mī Oya*, was a boundary district of Dakkhinadesa and extended on both sides of the upper reaches of the *Mī Oya*, embracing *Hatalispahē Kōralē East*, *Nikavagampaha Kōralē* and *Divigandahē Kōralē*.³²

Tammanāva Vihāra at *Kaṭugampolagama*, 8 miles west of the 6th mile on the *Kākīrāva-Kalāvāva* road, is called Arakīpīpala Vihāra in a 5th century inscription.³³

Sāssēruva Vihāra was one of the largest pre-Christian cave monasteries but its ancient name is not known. It stands on the boundary of the present Anurādhapura and *Kurunāgala* districts, 8 miles north-east of the 8th mile on the *Galgamuwa-Nikavāva* road, and the summit of the higher hill (*Mahakanda*) is 1146 feet high. Of the numerous cave inscriptions, one is by the daughter of a king who, in all probability, was Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77): the princess was married to a chieftain (parumaka) and this suggests that the king received some invaluable aid from the chieftain's family when he was in exile. Some long inscriptions of the 1st century are now mutilated and appear once to have contained the Vihāra's ancient name. Conspicuous among the monuments here which have survived is a colossal image of the Buddha in stone, 39 feet 3 inches high. The following place-names occur in the pre-Christian and 1st century inscriptions:—(i) Yava tank; (ii) Punadagama; (iii) Haligama; (iv) Kadaḷagama, probably present *Kandulugamuwa*, near *Nāgama*; (v) Bamaṇagama; (vi) Paḍehina tank; (vii) Maraviḷa; (viii) Vajīkavarānaka; and (ix) Eraka.³⁴

The ancient Vessagiri Vihāra founded by Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) is certainly not the cave monastery in the southern part of Anurādhapura which now bears this name: inscriptions *in situ* identify modern *Vessagiriya* with the ancient Issarasamaṇa Vihāra. Historically, too, the situation of Vessagiri could be inferred to be several miles south of Anurādhapura, because Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, fleeing after his defeat in the northern suburbs of the city, took refuge in the Vessagiri forest: and modern *Vessagiriya* or its vicinity was no place of refuge for a king fleeing from an enemy in occupation of his capital. Vessagiri was so named because 500 Vessas who received the pabbajā came from the village Girigāma. Giri Vihāra, also called Girigāma Vihāra, existed in Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa's time (B.C. 44-22), and was very probably identical with Vessagiri. Mahāgīrigāma and Girigāmakāṇṇa are probably synonymous with Girigāma. Gīriyāvāpi, restored by Parakkamabāhu, has been identified by Codrington with present *Galgīriyāva* tank near the 9th mile on the *Galgamuwa-Nikavāva* road. Pabbatārāma, built by a minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, was

28. *M.* 44. 119, 120; 45. 27; 37. 48; 58. 44; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52; *E.Z.* III. 312.

29. *M.* 68. 32-38; 68. 43, 44; *C.H.J.* IV. 54, 55.

30. *M.* 58. 43; 68. 43-47.

31. *C.J.S.* (G), II. 192.

32. *M.* 69. 8-12.

33. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 110; *E.Z.* IV. 128.

34. *M.* 33. 42-50, 90; 68. 6; *E.M.* 20. 25; *M.T.* 616, 5-10; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1895, 12; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 27, 28, 182, 200, 201; *E.Z.* I. 35; IV. 128; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 242; VIII, No. 2, 122; No. 4, 260; *E.H.B.* 84, 123, App. I, B.

to the south of Vessagiri and close to Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka, and near the boundary of Malaya. Vessagiri and Girigāma appear to have their names preserved in the range of hills now called *Galgiriyāva* which extends from the 12th mile on the *Galgamuva-Nikavāva* road for 10 miles to the north as far as *Sāssēruvakanda*: there are 6 or 7 separate groups of caves and ruins on this range. Near Giri Vihāra were Madhu-aṅgaṇa and also, probably, Pañcaggaalena. Moggallāna I built Pabbata Vihāra. Pabbatārāma and Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka must have been situated on two of the many hills to southward of *Galgiriyāva* on which ancient sites exist, namely, the rock groups around *Polpiti-gama*, *Mā-cliya*, *Dekandavala*, *Haṅgamuwa*, *Arankālē*, *Dolukanda*, etc. This southern part of *Hiriyāla Hatpattu* was therefore in Malaya in early times. At the foot of *Galgiriyāva-kanda*, near *Kaduruvāva*, 2½ miles north-east of the 8th mile on the *Galgamuva-Nikavāva* road, is a group of caves and other ruins with inscriptions from pre-Christian times to the 1st century. The following place-names occur in the inscriptions:—(i) Gaṭika; (ii) Mayahala or Mayihalaraka; (iii) Kaṭaka-nakara; (iv) Pehakara tank in the sub-district Badagaṇa-kaṇiya; (v) Itaṭa tank; (vi) Datavika; and (vii) Karajavika.³⁵

At *Ganēkanda Vihāra*, 3 miles north-north-east of *Polpiti-gama*, there are inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. and of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.C. These inscriptions give the following place-names:—(i) Gokaṇegama: a 7th century inscription at *Ambagasvāva*, 6 miles to north-west, contains the name Gukaṇa; (ii) Sidaviya; (iii) Tanegama; (iv) Katari; (v) Navalaka; (vi) Tulataratisa; (vii) Kabuba-kadaraka; and (viii) Kaṇavaka.³⁶

Vijayabāhu in 1070 captured the Cōla fort at Maṇḍagalla, and, later, he restored Maṇḍavāṭaka tank; furthermore, he granted the village of Sirimaṇḍagalagāma to the Saṅgha. These names all stand for present *Mahamaṇḍagala*, a breached tank on the *Mi Oya* about 2 miles north of *Polpiti-gama* (Codrington).³⁷

In an inscription of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29) at *Akuruketugala*, 1½ miles west of the 24th mile on the *Ibbāgamuwa-Polpiti-gama* road, the site is named Bhatavabi Vihāra at Simijalika.³⁸

Parakkamabāhu restored:—(i) Sādiyaggāma tank, present *Hātigamuva Mahavāva*, near *Polpiti-gama*; (ii) Rakkhamāna tank, present *Rakvānavāva*, near *Moragollāgama*.³⁹

Degalaturu-bim was a sub-district, probably in *Divigandahē Kōralē*.⁴⁰

35. M. 20. 15: 33. 48, 90: 39. 42: 41. 2: 68. 43-50; E.M. 22. 25; M.T. 616; E.H.B. 84, 122, 123, App. IB; A.S.C.A.R., 1895. 13: 1935, 10, para 43; U.C.R. VII, No. 4, 243, note 49: VIII, No. 2, 119, 123.

36. A.I.C. 39, 100; U.C.R. VIII, No. 2, 122.

37. M. 58. 44: 60. 49, 68.

38. C.J.S. (G), II. 126.

39. M. 68. 44, 46.

40. E.Z. IV, 208.

Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Pāṭhina Vihāra, present *Peṭiyagala Vihāra*, 3 miles south of *Polpiti-gama*, a pre-Christian site. Other pre-Christian temples with inscriptions in this vicinity are *Talpiṭiyāva Vihāra* and *Nāgolla Vihāra*.⁴¹

The village Kihapuya is mentioned in a 6th century inscription at *Galkāṭiyagama*, 4 miles south-south-west of *Polpiti-gama*.

¶Kannikāragalla tank was restored by Parakkamabāhu and is present *Velangolla*, 6 miles south-south-west of *Polpiti-gama*. On the rocky hill above was a monastery, now abandoned, founded in pre-Christian times.⁴²

In a 1st century inscription at the fairly extensive ruins at *Kottalakimbiyāva*, 6 miles north of *Hiripitiya*, the place Mabirigama is mentioned.⁴³

An inscription of the 1st century at *Ēriyāva* names the old temple there Dipigala Vihāra. *Nākolaganē Vihāra*, near *Ēriyāva*, and 4 miles east of *Ambaṇpola*, is called Nāgalla Vihāra in a 13th century inscription.⁴⁴

At *Dāgama*, near the 15th mile on the *Ibbāgamuwa-Polpiti-gama* road, there is a very large cave called *Kābāllaleṇa* with pre-Christian inscriptions.⁴⁵

Dhātusena (455-473) built Mahaeli tank. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1100) restored Mahāheli tank, the same as Mahaeli, and identical with present *Māeliya-vāva*, near the 12th mile on the *Ibbāgamuwa-Polpiti-gama* road. In an inscription of Sena II (853-887) at *Nayindannāva Vihāra* at *Māeliya* the site is called Maeli-arama: a pre-Christian inscription at the same place-names the hill *Ayibara-pavata*.⁴⁶

At *Pālu Haṅgamuwa*, 1½ miles east of the 11th mile on the *Ibbāgamuwa-Polpiti-gama* road, is an extensive ancient site, with caves, ponds, a thūpa, and much stonework. The inscriptions at the site belong to the 4th to 6th centuries and one of them contains the place-name Tamala.⁴⁷

At *Tittavela*, near the 7½ mile on the *Ibbāgamuwa-Polpiti-gama* road, there is a rocky hill with caves and pre-Christian inscriptions, one of which is dated in the reign of a king who was probably Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Other sites in this vicinity with pre-Christian inscriptions are *Talangamuva Vihāra*, 4½ miles east of the 10th mile, and *Kōmbuwa Vihāra*, ½ mile west of the 8th mile on the same road.⁴⁸

41. M. 60. 58; A.I.C. 37, 41; C.J.S. (G), II. 125.

42. M. 68. 45; C.J.S. (G) II, 102, 125, 126.

43. A.I.C. 46; A.S.C.A.R., 1932, 9.

44. A.I.C. 42 (a).

45. C.J.S. (G) II. 124.

46. M. 60. 48; Puj. 27; C.J.S. (G) II. 123, 124.

47. A.S.C.A.R., 1931-32, 11.

48. A.S.C.A.R., 1933, 14, 17; U.C.R. VII, No. 4, 238, note 5.

Pūjāgala is a large but not very lofty rock on *Neriyāva* estate, 2 miles west of the 8th mile on the *Ibbāgamuva-Polpitiigama* road, with caves, a thūpa on its summit and remains of ancient stonework. A long inscription of the 4th century has been engraved close to the thūpa.⁴⁹

Ranagirimaḍa Vihāra, 1 mile west of the 5½ mile on the *Ibbāgamuva-Polpitiigama* road, has caves with pre-Christian inscriptions: one mentions Abaya-nakara, and in another the donor was the daughter of a prince Uti.⁵⁰

At *Mādiriya* Vihāra and *Aragama*, near the 2nd and 3rd miles respectively on the *Ibbāgamuva-Polpitiigama* road, there are pre-Christian inscriptions.⁵¹

Periyakadu Vihāra at *Nālava*, 3 miles north of the 7th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road, is called *Ekadorika* or *Ekadoriya* or *Ekadora* Rajamahavihara in inscriptions of the 2nd, 3rd and 6th centuries *in situ*. Place-names mentioned in these inscriptions are:—(i) *Tuḷahaka* tank; (ii) *Cigaravaliya* tank; (iii) *Taḷahapa*; and (iv) *Tamaḍa*. A pre-Christian inscription on a cave is preceded by the symbol of a cross, probably the emblem of the astrologers' guild.⁵²

An inscription of the 1st century at *Mahamūkalanyāya*, near *Dolukanda*, mentions *Pubaga-nakara*.⁵³

Aggabodhi I (571-604) built *Sirivaddhamāna* tank, present *Siraḍunna*, 3 miles north-east of *Vāllava*.⁵⁴

Uturupavu Vihāra, 1 mile north of the 12th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road, and *Nissōleṇa* Vihāra, near the 16th mile on the same road, have caves with pre-Christian inscriptions.⁵⁵

Saṅgamu Vihāra, 1½ miles east of the 14th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road, is an extensive site with many caves, a ruined thūpa, rock-cut steps, stone ponds, ancient stonework, and inscriptions dating from 2nd B.C. to the 12th century. *Dhātusena* (455-473) built *Saṅgamu* tank, the tank now called *Māddakāṭṭiya* below the Vihāra. The *Sigiri* graffiti mention *Saṅgamu* and *Saṅgamu-kelvaḷa-arama*. The 6th century inscriptions mention (i) *Goṇagiri*; and (ii) *Mahavalagama*: *Mahaval* is mentioned in the *Sigiri* graffiti. The 12th century treaty between *Gajabāhu* II and *Parakkamabāhu* is engraved at this Vihāra.⁵⁶

49. *A.I.C.* 49; *C.J.S.* (G), II 191.

50. *C.J.S.* (G), II. 191.

51. *C.J.S.* (G), II. 226.

52. *A.I.C.* 8; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 223, 224; *E.Z.* IV. 225; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

53. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 39.

54. *M.* 42. 8.

55. *C.J.S.* (G), II. 194.

56. *Puj.* 27; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 223, 224; *E.Z.* IV. 225; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

The ruins at *Ranagiri*, near *Dēvagiriya*, 3½ miles north-west of the 17th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road, extend over a hill and include several caves, one of which is semi-circular and very large while another preserves a portion of its moulded wall, thūpas at foot and summit, and stonework. There are several inscriptions from the 2nd century B.C. to the 7th century. In the later inscriptions the following place-names are mentioned:—(i) *Kagaḍa*; (ii) *Maṭila*; (iii) *Agavatura*; and (iv) *Ṇavagamiya*.⁵⁷

Mahāsena (275-301) built *Kumbālaka* tank, also called *Kimbulvana*. This may be the same as *Kumbhīlasobbhaka* tank restored by both *Vijayabāhu* I and *Parakkamabāhu*, and perhaps identical with the large, breached reservoir on the *Kimbulvāna Oya* now known as *Nirāmulla*.⁵⁸

It was 5 gav (about 15 miles) from *Sanikhanāthattalī* (identified by *Paranavitana* as present *Pērādeṇi-nuvara*, 5 miles north-east of *Dādigama* in *Kāgalla* district) to *Badalatthala*, present *Batalagoḍa*. On the way were *Pilimvatthu* and *Padavarasuñṇakaṇḍa*. *Badalatthala-padesa* comprised *Ihala Visideka Kōralē* and *Hātahayē Kōralē* (*Codrington*). *Vijayabāhu* I fought a battle at *Badalatthala*. In an inscription of *Queen Kalyānavatī* at *Batalagoḍa*, the place is called *Badalagoḍa alias Mangalapura* in the *Madhyadesa* division of the *Māyā* kingdom: the inscription goes on to state that the *Senevirat-piriveṇa* in *Badalagoḍa* was restored and the village *Sotemuṇa*, present *Hatamuṇē*, near *Galēvela*, granted to it.⁵⁹

Siriyaḷa was a place between *Batalagoḍa* and *Mūnikdeṇa* (south of *Dambulla*).⁶⁰

(C). Devamādi Hatpattu

Devamādi Hatpattu falls within the dry zone and lies to south of the *Dāduru Oya*. There are many hill ranges and no large rivers: large irrigation schemes were not feasible.

Amaragalaka tank is mentioned in an inscription of *Vasabha* (67-111) at *Galauḍa* Vihāra, near *Maḍavala*, 2 miles north of the 5½ mile on the *Kurunāgala-Nāramalla* road. In a later 5th century inscription there the site is named *Megagalaka Vihara*.⁶¹

Galvāva Vihāra, 1 mile north of the 14th mile on the *Vāriyaḷa-Chilaw* road, is a low rock-outcrop with a cave, on which there is a 1st century inscription, and a ruined thūpa close to which is a second

57. *C.J.S.* (G) II, 225.

58. *M.* 37. 45 : 60. 50 : 79. 33; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52.

59. *M.* 58. 42-44 : 64. 9 : 65. 4; *E.Z.* IV. 80-82.

60. *M.* 66. 19.

61. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 211.

century inscription which mentions (i) Bamarahagama tank, and (ii) Maḍahata tank.⁶²

Yakkhadāsa mountain, present *Yakdēsāgala*, 8 miles north-north-west of *Kurunāgala*, is mentioned in a 13th century Pāli poem.⁶³

Giri Vihāra in Dakkhinadesa was built in the reign of Aggabodhi I (571-604). In a 10th century inscription at *Mādagama* Vihāra, 2 miles south of the 20th mile on the *Vāriyapola-Chilaw* road, the site is called Giri Vehera, but here Giri may simply mean 'rock': moreover, the site has a pre-Christian inscription which proves that its foundation cannot be ascribed to Aggabodhi I. In inscriptions of the 7th to 9th centuries at the same place, it is named Kumbmugama Vihāra.⁶⁴

In a 10th century inscription at *Gonnāva*, 2 miles north of the 8th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Nārammala* road, revenues from a land in the sub-district Mahamīṇilā-bim (the area around *Gonnāva*) were granted to the Mahāvihāra.⁶⁵

At Muhunnaru, Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) fought a battle. Parakkamabāhu I restored Munaru tank. An inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) at *Nuvarakālē*, 2 miles south-east of *Hettiṭipola*, names the place Muhunnaru.⁶⁶

Kālagallaka was between *Dambadeniya* and *Yāpahuva* and is present *Kalugalla*, 3 miles south of the *Koḷamuna Oya* and close to *Kaṭupota*. Between Kālagallaka and *Yāpahuva* was the *Koḷabhinna-nadi*, present *Koḷamuna Oya*.⁶⁷

The sub-district around *Vāllagala*, near the 4th mile on the *Vāriyapola-Hiripitiya* road, is called Panahapahaṇa, 'the district of 50 hills', in an inscription there of the 1st century.^{67A}

A Minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77) built Tissārāma or Uttaratissārāma monastery. At *Nuvarakanda*, 4 miles north-west of *Ganēvatta*, there was a very extensive cave monastery in pre-Christian times, and one of the cave inscriptions records the foundation of the monastery, which is called Tisapavata Mahavihara, by Kaṇaṭiśa, a Minister of Pita Maharaja (Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya). Other places named in the many inscriptions at this site, ranging from 1st B.C. to the 6th century, are:—(i) Mukalugama; (ii) Digahalaka; (iii) Malaganaka, present *Malaganē*, 3 miles to the north-west; and (iv) Madaravilaya. One of the donors of the caves was a prince Duhita.⁶⁸

62. *A.I.C.* 50; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 223.

63. *E.Z.* I. 136.

64. *M.* 42. 9; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 222; Codrington, *Coins*, 197.

65. *E.Z.* IV. 190.

66. *M.* 58. 42-44; 68. 48; *E.Z.* IV. 185.

67. *M.* 90. 9-11.

67A. *C.J.S.* (G), II. 126.

68. *D.* 19. 19; *M.* 33. 91; *C.J.S.* (G), II. 126-128; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 126.

Ganē Vihāra and *Patahamulla* Vihāra, at the 8th and 10th miles respectively on the *Vāriyapola-Hiripitiya* road, were founded in pre-Christian times as the inscriptions at these two temples testify.⁶⁹

At Sripura, present *Malasnē*, near *Hiripitiya*, Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) built an Alms Hall. According to a Prakrit text of the Jainas, Sripura was in the Ratnāsaya district: between 1190 and 1200 the Cōlas landed at Salāvattota, present *Chilaw*, and penetrated as far as Sripura. The Sigiri Graffiti mention Siripura. The place apparently had some importance in the 12th century.⁷⁰

Sēruvāva Vihāra, a picturesque rock-temple situated high up on the hill and mounted by steps, is 4 miles south of the 6th mile on the *Vāriyapola-Hiripitiya* road and was established in pre-Christian times on the evidence of its two cave inscriptions.⁷¹

Nātaganē Vihāra, 1 mile west of the 7½ mile on the *Kurunāgala-Vāriyapola* road, was also founded in pre-Christian times.⁷²

Maraluwāva Vihāra, 2 miles north of the 25th mile on the *Kandy-Kurunāgala* road, is attained by a steep climb over rock. There are inscriptions there of the 3rd to the 7th centuries and in the earliest one Ratavahanaka-mahanakara and a vihāra of the same name (presumably the site of the inscription) are mentioned.⁷³

(D). Kaṭugampola Hatpattu

Kaṭugampola Hatpattu is, in its northern portion, in the dry zone, but its southern part falls within an intermediate zone between the dry and wet zones. It is not hilly but it is not climatically suitable for paddy cultivation under irrigation, and hence it has few tanks.

Paṇḍavāpi or Paṇḍavāva, the breached reservoir now known as *Paṇḍuvas-nuvaravāva*, 3 miles from *Hettiṭipola*, was restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110). It was considerably enlarged by Parakkamabāhu as part of his plan of development of his principality of Dakkhinadesa and was the first Parakkamasamudda, also called Bāna or Bāna Samudra (Paranavitana). Close by Parakkamabāhu founded his new capital of Dakkhinadesa which he called Parakkamapura, the present ruins at *Paṇḍuvas-nuvara*. There is little doubt that the purpose of selecting this place in the dry zone as his new capital was to give emphasis to his irrigation and development projects and to facilitate their supervision. The ruins at Parakkamapura have now been excavated and conserved.⁷⁴

69. *A.I.C.* 44, 45; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 192.

70. *E.Z.* II. 178; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 191; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), XXXI, 385-386; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

71. *A.I.C.* 38; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, 17.

72. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 221.

73. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 212.

74. *M.* 60. 48; 68. 39-42; *Puj.* 34; *E.Z.* II. 116.

Setthivāpi, restored by Parakkamabāhu, is the present tank at *Hettipola*.⁷⁵

(E). Dambadeniya Hatpattu

Dambadeniya Hatpattu falls entirely within the intermediate and wet zones and had very few tanks for the cultivation of fields under irrigation. But it was populated from pre-Christian times.

There is a group of pre-Christian rock temples in the triangle *Nārammala-Giriulla-Alavva*, all bearing contemporary inscriptions. They are:—(i) *Puhulē Vihāra* at *Aturuvala*, 1 mile from the 20th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Giriulla* road; (ii) *Maḍavala Vihāra*, 1 mile from the 5th mile on the *Giriulla-Alavva* road; (iii) *Humbuluwē Vihāra*, near the 5½ mile on the same road; (iv) *Hābbilikanda*, ½ mile east of the 2nd mile on the *Alavva-Nārammala* road; (v) *Māṭiyangana Vihāra*, near the 16th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Giriulla* road. In a 1st century inscription at the last-mentioned site, the monastery is named *Mati Vihāra* and a grant is made to it of *Kaḍanaka* tank and fields at *Salaviya*.⁷⁶

At *Jambuddoṇi*, also called *Jambudroṇi* and *Dambadeniya*, present *Dambadeniya*, *Vijayabāhu IV* (1271-1273) established his capital. He built the *Vijayasundara Vihāra* there which *Parakkamabāhu II* embellished. The distance from *Dambadeniya* to *Polonnaruwa* is given as 5 yojanas, and *Vijayabāhu IV* improved the road: the actual distance is about 75 miles. *Bhuvanekabāhu I* (1273-1284) transferred the capital from *Dambadeniya* to *Yāpahuva*. *Sirivaddhana* or *Sirivardhanapura*, the birthplace of *Parakkamabāhu II*, was ½ a yojana from *Dambadeniya*: a large *Vihāra* was built there.⁷⁷

(F). Vāudavili Hatpattu

Vāudavili Hatpattu forms one section of the foothills of the central mountain massif and lies within the wet and intermediate zones. Its northern area is fairly flat but is broken by numerous rock outcrops. The upper reaches of the *Dāduru Oya* flow through it and the large *Batalagoda* tank was formed by damming this river.

At *Hatthigiripura*, also called *Hastisailapura* and *Kurunāgalpāya*, modern *Kurunāgala*, *Parakkamabāhu II* (1236-1271) built a *Vihāra*. *Vijayabāhu IV* (1271-1273) built a rampart and a moat round the town, and a large Image House in the *Vihāra*. *Bhuvanekabāhu II* (1291-1302) made the town his capital, and his successor, *Parakkamabāhu IV*, also ruled there and built a Tooth Relic Temple. At *Vāpinagara*, identified by Codrington as present *Venārūwāva*, just

75. *M.* 68. 43.

76. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 131, 209, 210.

77. *M.* 81. 15, 51 : 85. 1, 4, 9 : 89. 13, 14 : 90. 34, 35 : *N.S.* 22, 23 ; *Puj.* 37, 40 ; *Raj.* 63.

outside the town, *Vijayabāhu I* fought a successful action against the *Cōlas*.⁷⁸

Vilbā Vihāra, close to *Kurunāgala*, has a pre-Christian cave inscription.⁷⁹

Vijayabāhu I fled to *Villikābā-rattha* after his defeat by the *Cōlas*: this is probably present *Vāudavili Hatpattu*.⁸⁰

The *Doraṭiyāva Sannasa* of *Nissaṅka Malla* (1187-1196) names the place, which is 3 miles south-east of *Kurunāgala*, *Doraṭiyāva* or *Sudākarikāḍipana-Doraṭiyāva* in the *Māyā* kingdom, and fixes its boundaries as follows:—(i) on the east, *Mānelvaluva*, present *Māneloluvu* (Codrington); (ii) on the south, *Hiravalugoda*; (iii) on the west, *Govipala*, present *Kompola* (Codrington); and (iv) on the north, *Minileva*.⁸¹

Pilagama is mentioned in a 10th century inscription at *Ālavala*, 6 miles east of *Kurunāgala*.⁸²

At the *Ambaṭṭhakola* cave in *Malaya*, 8 yojanas (60 to 75 miles) south of *Anurādhapura*, silver is said to have been found in the reign of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137). Here, *Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya* (19-29) built *Rajatalena Vihāra*, present *Ridī Vihāra*. There are several inscriptions at this well-known temple, dating from 2nd B.C. to the 8th century, and the place-names mentioned in them are:—(i) *Relagama*; (ii) *Haragamaka*; (iii) *Pagamaka* tank; (iv) *Caṭanagaṇaka*; and (v) *Paṭaḷaḷaya*.⁸³

Kumburuleṇa, near the 9th mile on the *Ramboḍagalla* road, was doubtless a part of the *Ridī Vihāra* entourage. Two of the inscriptions on the caves there are by the commander of the palanquin-bearers of *Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya*, probably *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 89-77).⁸⁴

Sites with pre-Christian inscriptions between *Ridī Vihāra* and the termination of the *Ramboḍagalla* road are:—(i) *Rāgala Vihāra*, near the 12½ mile; (ii) *Bāoruva Vihāra*, near the 14½ mile; (iii) *Piṭiyēgedara*, close to the last-named; (iv) *Kandēgedera*, near the 15th mile; and (v) *Delviṭa*, on *Delviṭa* estate, near the 14th mile. At the last-named group of caves, the inscriptions mention the villages *Nelagama* and *Abatoṭa*.⁸⁵

78. *M.* 58. 42-44 : 85. 62, 63 : 88. 53-64 : 90. 66 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 212.

79. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 212.

80. *M.* 58. 29.

81. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXIX, 32.

82. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 213.

83. *M.* 28. 20-35 : 35. 4 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 179, 193, 218 ; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 8, 238.

84. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 104 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 122.

85. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 216-218.

King Mahācūḷi Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63) laboured at a sugar mill in Sonṇagiri in Ambaṭṭhakola-jaṇapada, the district around *Ridī* Vihāra: Sonṇagiri is probably identical with Sonagiri at the foot of which was Pañcala Mahāvihāra or Paceli Vihāra or Pippali Vihāra. Sonṇagiri or Sonagiri was probably present *Ramboḍagalla*. Moggallāna I (491-508) collected troops at Kuṭṭhāri Vihāra in Ambaṭṭhakola district.⁸⁶

The pre-Christian sites in this locality mark the early route into the lower montane basin of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* around Kandy, namely the *Ridīgama-Molagoḍa-Teldeniya* pass.

Two inscriptions, circa 1200, at *Kottangē*, near *Delvita*, mention:— (i) Kalama village, present *Kottangē*, including the field Pilikumbura in the middle of Villi and bounded on the east by Kappalagoḍa, granted to the general for defeating the Cōlas; (ii) Uḍusāla village belonging to the Vilgammula fraternity; and (iii) Gambāvastava, also belonging to the same fraternity, present *Dambāla-Ālla* (Paranavitana).⁸⁷

An inscription dated 1170 at *Mādagama*, 4 miles north-east of *Māvatagama* at the 18th mile on the *Kandy-Kurunāgala* road, mentions *Sugalāvativāsa* hermitage, the site of the inscription.⁸⁸

Diyavehera is mentioned in a 10th century inscription at *Pallēgama*, near *Vāuḍa*, and Cakora tank in a 2nd century inscription at *Yativila*, also near *Vāuḍa*.⁸⁹

CHAPTER XIV

THE MĀTALĒ DISTRICT

The northern and eastern parts of the *Mātālē District* fall within the dry zone, while the rest of the district is in the mountainous wet zone. The *Amban Gaṅga* flows through it. Much of the area within the dry zone is hilly, but the *Mātālē North Division* contains several tanks as well as the headworks of some of the great irrigation projects which conveyed water to the vast extents of fields in Rājaraṭṭha.

Pilaviṭṭhika or Pillaviṭṭhi-raṭṭha, bordering Kālāvāpi-raṭṭha, was a frontier district of the principality of Dakkhinadesa, and included, approximately, present *Kiralava* and *Kandapallē Kōralēs* (Codrington). Pilaviṭ is mentioned in a 10th century inscription. Encounters between Parakkamabāhu's forces in Pilaviṭṭhika district and Gajabāhu's forces in Kālāvāpi district took place at:—

- (i) Kasāllaka, which was in Parakkamabāhu's territory because he restored the tank there: it is modern *Kahālla*, 1 mile west of *Āṇḍiyagala* on the *Galēvela-Kālāvāra* road;
- (ii) Taṭavāpika, which may be modern *Talakiriyagama* at the 31st mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road;
- (iii) Jambukola, present *Dambulla*: Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Jambukolaleṇa Vihāra: Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) rebuilt and embellished the Vihāra and his inscription *in situ* states that he gilded 73 Images at Dambulu-ṇena and re-named the cave Rangiri Dambulla or Suvamaṅgiri-guha; *Dambulla* Vihāra has numerous caves and pre-Christian inscriptions and was founded in 2nd B.C., and among the place-names mentioned in the early inscriptions are:—(a) Maṭukagama; (b) Rakitagamiya; (c) Uparikaḍa: there was a Vihāra named Uparimaṇḍala in Malaya in early times; (d) Nakoḍavika; and (e) Vatimasa;
- (iv) Vajiravāpi;
- (v) Nandivāpi;
- (vi) Pallikāvāpi;
- (vii) Kalalahallika, where there was a fort: the tank at this place was restored by Vijayabāhu I and by Parakkamabāhu I: Kalalahallika was in Dakkhinadesa and a suitable place for launching an attack on the Āḷisāra (*Āḷahāra*) district, and may be modern *Maḍahapola*, 5 miles north of the 16th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road. Between Kalalahallika and Āḷisāra were:—(a) Nandāmūlakagāma: to west of Nandāmūlakagāma and between it and Jambukola (*Dambulla*) was

86. *M.* 34. 4: 39. 21; *M.T.* 624, 20; *E.H.B.* 124.

87. *E.Z.* IV. 88-90.

88. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 212.

89. *Ibid.*, 219, 220.

Navagāmapura, which name appears to be preserved in modern *Navagolla Āla*; and (b) Karavālagiri, present *Karavilahēna*, near *Nāula*.¹

Velaṅgāvitthika Vihāra was built by Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119). A tank of the same name was constructed by Mahāsena (275-301). Mātuvelaṅga and Mātulaṅga (for the latter, see below) appear to be a composite of Mātu and Velaṅgāvitthika: perhaps the two Vihāras were close together and merged at a later date. Mātuvelaṅga was near Sāmagalla, afterwards called Moragalla, and was in Malaya: there is a modern *Moragalla*, near which there are early ruins and a 1st century inscription, 6 miles north-west of the 27th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road. In early times this region was in Malaya.²

In inscriptions of the 2nd century at *Gārandigala*, 3 miles north of *Galēvela* which is at the 25th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road, the following are named:—(i) Kadavataka tank; (ii) Taḍapara tank; (iii) Hubiligamika; (iv) Pajinigamaka; and (v) Talakadanaka tank. In a later inscription of Kassapa III (724-730) at the same place, the villages named Mahabodeṇiya and Mihinnariya are mentioned.³

Dubalagama is mentioned in a 1st century inscription at *Nilagama*, 5 miles north-west of *Galēvela*. In an inscription of Moggallāna I (531-551) at this place, the temple is called Tisa-arami at Nilagama (the modern name has therefore come down unchanged for at least 14 centuries) and the liberation of slaves from the following villages is recorded:—(i) Hīlisela; (ii) Gala-araki; and (iii) Ba-eli.⁴

Mahabalisa is mentioned in a 7th century inscription at *Silavatgala* Vihāra, 3 miles north of the 25th mile on the *Kurunāgala-Dambulla* road.

There are pre-Christian inscriptions on caves at *Kandalama*, near *Dambulla*, and at *Ātābāndivāva* 2 miles north-north-west of the 39th mile on the *Kandy-Dambulla* road. The donors of some of the caves at *Ātābāndivāva* were:—(i) prince Tisa, the son of Raja Abaya and grandson of Pacina Raja; (ii) prince Tisa, the son of Pacina Raja; and (iii) princess Raki, the wife of (ii). Pacina Raja literally means 'King of the East', but no ruler bearing this title is known from the historical Chronicles.⁵

Aggabodhi II (604-614) built Eṇḍeragalu tank and Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Eṇḍeragala tank, the same as Eṇḍeragalu. In an inscription of Nissanka Malla at Polonnaruva, it is stated that the

rock on which the inscription was engraved was brought from Eṇḍeragala, doubtless the rocky hill of that name at the 50th mile on the *Dambulla-Habarana* road. The tank is now known as *Ināmaluwa* tank.⁶

In an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-913) at the ruined thūpa about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of *Sigiriya*, the site is named Mahanāpavu Vihāra. The Sigiri Graffiti mention Mahanāpavu and Mahanāvuta. Mahanāpavu = P. Mahānāgapabbata. Aggabodhi I (571-604) built Mahānāga Vihāra, also called Mānārada or Mānāpav or Mānā-pirivena. It would appear that Mūgasenāpati Vihāra was re-named Mahānāga Vihāra: to Mūgasenāpati Vihāra was assigned the village Lajjika, and to Māhānāga Vihāra the villages Mātulaṅga and Odumbaraṅga.⁷

Kassapa I (475-491) built his palace on Sihagiri (Sigiri) in imitation of Ālakamaṇḍa, the residence of the god Kuvera, and dwelt there as a god-king. In his paper, 'Sigiri, the abode of a god-king', Dr. Paranavitana has dealt exhaustively with this all-important aspect of Sigiri. In the Niyyanti Park at Sihagiri the king built the Bodhi-Uppalavaṇṇā Vihāra, named after his daughters, and presented it to the Dhammaruci sect together with a park to the north of it. The Vihāras named Daḷha and Dāthākondaṇṇa on Sihagiri were granted by Moggallāna I (491-508) to the Dhammaruci and Sāgali monks. Sihagiri was the scene of the execution of King Saṃghatissa, his son and his Minister: moggallāna III (614-619) who was responsible for this execution was himself slain near Sihagiri. The lower slopes of Sigiri were a pre-Christian cave monastery and one of the early inscriptions on the caves mentions the place Abalavi. Sihigiri-bim, the sub-district around Sigiri, is mentioned in an inscription of Sena II (853-887) at *Viyaulpota*, 6 miles north-west of Sigiri: the site of the inscription is called Sānguṇā-panṣala. The graffiti on the gallery wall at Sigiri contain numerous place-names, the homes of the authors of the verses incised there.⁸

The Sigiri Graffiti mention Kivisi, probably present *Kibissa*, near *Sigiriya*.⁹

In a pre-Christian inscription at *Pidurāgala*, 1 mile from *Sigiriya*, the following place-names occur:—(i) Garadiḍa; and (ii) Kolagama. Paranavitana is of opinion that the thūpa at this monastery was probably built over the funeral pyre of Kassapa I.¹⁰

Close to and south of the 49th mile on the *Dambulla-Trincomalee* road, as well as at *Diganpatahā*, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the 56th mile on the same road, there are caves with pre-Christian inscriptions.¹¹

1. *M.* 69. 8-12: 60. 48, 60: 70. 71-73, 163, 164: 72. 131-140: 80. 22-24; *Puj.* 35; *Raj.* 60; *E.H.B.* 68; *E.Z.* I. 135: II. 173: III. 105.

2. *M.* 33. 8. 9: 35. 116: 37. 48; *M.T.* 616, 9; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 121.

3. *E.Z.* III. 198.

4. *A.I.C.* 79; *E.Z.* IV. 295.

5. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1955, 35; *A.I.C.* 34; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 240.

6. *M.* 60. 49; *Puj.* 28; *E.Z.* II. 134.

7. *M.* 42. 23, 24: 44. 97; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 108.

8. *M.* 39. 2, 3, 14, 15, 41: 44. 32-60; *E.Z.* IV. 179; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), *New Series*, I, 129; Sigiri Graffiti, by S. Paranavitana, 2 vols.

9. Sig. Graff., I, App. C.

10. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1951, 24; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 227.

11. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1894, 8.

Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra was built by Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119). Dhātusena (455-473) is also credited with its construction. Aggabodhi I (571-604) built an Uposatha House in Dakkhiṇagiriḍaḷḷa Vihāra which may be a different monastery. Kassapa V (914-923) granted a village to Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra. The identity of Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra is settled by the inscriptions of Sena II (853-887) and Sena IV (954-956) at *Kaluḍiya Pokuna*, near *Kumbukkandanwela*, 6 miles south of *Sīgiriya*, in which the site is called Dakṣiṇigiri Vehera. The Sīgiri Graffiti also name Dakṣiṇigiri Vehera. The inscriptions give the following place-names:—(i) Magama; (ii) Navāpahangama; (iii) Panagama; (iv) Bogamiya; (v) Mahamaṇḍ; (vi) Vaḷamāla; (vii) Vālipungonu; and (viii) Sīmburbamarā.¹²

Mereliya-vagga or Merukandara-raṭṭha was a district which often served as a place of refuge. It was the mountainous region of *Vagapanaha Pallēsiya Pattu*, *Gaṅgala Pallēsiya Pattu* and *Gaṅgala Uḍasiya Pattu*. In it was the village Vācavāṭaka, modern *Vēvalavāva*, 5 miles south-east of *Sīgiriya*. Between Vācavāṭaka and Polonnaruva was the village Nāla.¹³

Buddhagāma-raṭṭha, an area corresponding to present *Vagapanaha Pallēsiya Pattu* (Storey), was a boundary district of Dakkhiṇadesa. Buddhagāma Vihāra was endowed by Sena II (853-887). In the Sīgiri Graffiti the place is called Budgamiya and Budgamu. A 10th century inscription at *Mānikdēna*, 2 miles west of the 40th mile on the *Mātālē-Dambulla* road, records the grant by a resident of Koboyateliya of fields at Mahadeṇa to Budhgam Vehera (present *Mānikdēna* ruins) at Ambamu. Vijayabāhu I captured the Cōla fort at Buddhagāma. Parakkamabāhu I made Buddhagāma his first headquarters in his campaign against Gajabāhu II and restored the dam there. Near Buddhagāma was the Sīridevī mountain, identified by Storey and Codrington as *Nikulākanda*, also known as *Hiridevatai*.¹⁴

Pallavavāla was in Gajabāhu's territory and well east of Buddhagāma. From Polonnaruva, Mānābharana advanced to Pallavavāla and there concentrated his forces for attack on Buddhagāma district.¹⁵

Ambavana-raṭṭha or -padesa was the area between *Nālanda* and *Ālahāra* on both banks of the *Amban Gaṅga*: it is still known as *Ambana*. Its northern portion or the area adjacent to and north of it was called Sūra-ambavana-raṭṭha (Geiger). In Ambavana district were:—(i) Khiravāpi, present *Kirigama* and *Kirioruva*, 2½ miles west of *Nālanda*; (ii) Nāvāgirisā, in a cool, hilly region, present

Nāvāgala, near *Yatavatta*; (iii) Bubbula, present *Bibilē*, 2 miles north-north-west of *Nāula* (Codrington); and (iv) Porogāhālikhaṇḍa, between Nāvāgirisā and Janapada, either present *Kalogaha-āla*, 6 miles north-east of *Leṇadora*, or *Porēkaragama*, 3 miles north-west of *Nālanda*.¹⁶

Janapada-raṭṭha was in Gajabāhu's territory of Rājaratṭha and immediately to east of Sūra-ambavana-raṭṭha. It was an area in *Gaṅgala Uḍasiya Pattu* and is first mentioned in the reign of Moggallāna III (614-619). In it were:—(i) Dohaḷapabbata, between Janapada and Sīgiri; (ii) Maṅgalabegāma, called Māgalamb in the Sīgiri Graffiti, on the eastern boundary of Janapada, identified by Codrington as present *Makul-ebē*, between *Puvakgaha-ulpota* and *Kōnduruva* on the *Ālahāra* canal; and (iii) Yāgalla.¹⁷

Ālisāra-raṭṭha, the area around *Ālahāra* in *Gaṅgala Pallēsiya Pattu*, (Bell) was in Gajabāhu's territory. In Ālisāra-raṭṭha were:—(i) Taḷātthala or Taḷākatthali, present *Talāgoda*, near the 9th mile on the *Nāula-Ālahāra* road (Codrington); (ii) Āligāma, a stronghold by the river, present *Ālagamuva*, 1 mile south of the 8th mile on the same road; (iii) Kaddūragāma; (iv) Kirāṭi, present *Hirāṭi Oya*, 3 miles north of *Ālahāra* (Codrington); (v) Vilāna, probably the same as Milānakhetta, as suggested by Codrington; (vi) Mattikāvāpi, possibly *Kirimāṭiya*, 1 mile south of *Ālagamuva*; (vii) Uddhakuraṃgāma; (viii) Adhokuraṃgāma; and (ix) Nāsinna. The great Ālisāra canal, the most important feature in the Ālisāra district, will be dealt with under Maṇihāra (*Miṇṇēriya*) tank.¹⁸

An examination of the several accounts of the battles between the rival forces of Parakkamabāhu and Gajabāhu II in the 12th century discloses that the routes from Ambavana, Ālisāra and Janapada districts to Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) were as follows:—

- (i) Maṅgalabegāma (*Makul-ebē*)—Demeliyagāma—rocky country, which must be the *Sudukanda* range of hills—Khajjūraṇḍaḍḍhamānaka tank, the same as Kaddūraṇḍaḍḍhamānaka tank, to which a canal led from *Giritaḷē* tank—Polonnaruva;¹⁹
- (ii) Maṅgalabegāma—Hattanna (? present *Attanakaḍavala* hill, and stream, 4 miles south of *Kōnduruva*)—Khaṇḍigāma pass, doubtless a pass over the *Sudukanda* range of hills—Māsiviyala—Polonnaruva;²⁰

12. *M.* 33. 7 : 38. 46 : 42. 47 : 52. 61 ; *E.Z.* III. 266.

13. This district was in Malaya. *M.* 39. 45 : 41. 19 : 44. 28 : 47. 27, 58, 59 70. 282, 295, 296.

14. *M.* 51. 74 : 58. 43 : 66. 19 : 68. 45 : 69. 9 : 70. 311 : 72. 178 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1908, 15 ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

15. *M.* 72. 178, 220.

16. *M.* 66. 85, 92 : 48. 25 : 69. 9 : 70. 87, 99, 191, 311 : 72. 178.

17. *M.* 44. 55-61 : 66. 110 : 67. 25, 52, 53 : 70. 15, 87, 95, 97, 103 ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

18. *M.* 35. 84 : 60. 14 : 70. 106-112 : 70. 113, 165-174.

19. *M.* 67. 32-53.

20. *M.* 70. 297-299.

- (iii) Nālanda (present *Nālanda*)—{Lahulla
Hattanna (see above)}—
Khaṇḍigāma pass (see above)—Kodhaṅgulikakēdāra—Sika-
viyala (associated with Māsiviyala above)—Polonnaruva;²¹
- (iv) Maṅgalabegāma—Mihiraṇabibbala—Konduruva (present *Kōn-
duruva*)—Rajatakedāra—Polonnaruva;²²
- (v) Tālātthali (present *Talāgoḍa*)—Rajakamatasambādha (*Radā-
vela*, 4 miles west of *Talāgoḍa*?)—Milānakhetta
(probably the same as Vilāna above)—Daraaga—Maṅgalabe-
gāma (*Makul-ebe*).²³

Kyānagāma was north or north-west of Maṅgalabegāma (*Makul-ebe*) and was in the *Payikulam-Vēvalavāva* area: the route from Kyānagāma to Polonnaruva passed through Mihiraṇabibbala (see above) whose position could be approximately fixed. Vikkamapura was to west of Kyānagāma and was used as a war headquarters by Parakkamabāhu: it was probably situated in the vicinity of *Nuvaragalkanda*, 8 miles south-south-east of Sīgiri. Nālanda, present *Nālanda*, was Parakkamabāhu's headquarters during the greater part of the campaign.²⁴

Panāvāli, present *Māda-ulpota*, 6 miles south-east of *Āḷahāra*, is mentioned in a 10th century inscription there.²⁵

Melandura and Hinabi villages are mentioned in an inscription of Gajabāhu II at *Kapuruveda-oḃa*, 1½ miles east of *Moragaha Ulpota* in *Laggala Pallēsiya Pattu*: they were in Pihiti-ṛaṭṭa. The name Melandura is still used locally for *Vilgamuva-vasama*.²⁶

At the *Kumbukkandana* ruins, 9 miles north-north-east of the 28th mile on the *Āḷahāra-Pallēgama* road, there are several inscriptions of the 4th to the 7th centuries. The village Tabaraya is named as the seat of the district chieftain.²⁷

Bodhigāmaṇava-ṛaṭṭha comprised, approximately, *Mātālē Pallēsiya Pattu* (Codrington). The name is retained in modern *Bōgambara*, near *Rattoṭa*. The Sīgiri Graffiti mention Boyigam.²⁸

At the *Demada Oya* gorge, 1½ miles west of the 32½ mile on the *Kandy-Dambulla* road, there is an inscription of 1st B.C. in verse

which says that the jewellers of king Macuḍi (Mahācūḷi Mahātissa, B.C. 77-63) who came there for stone bricks went to their death.²⁹

In Mahāthala, Mānavamma (684-718) built Kadambagana Vihāra: Mahāthala is the same as Mahātīla-padesa, the district around *Mātālē* (Geiger). In the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77) 500 monks under the protection of a chieftain assembled at Ālokalena or Aḷulena, present *Āḷuvihāra*, and reduced the Tipiṭaka to writing: there are pre-Christian inscriptions on some of the caves at *Āḷuvihāra*. In Mahātīla district was Saraggāma, present *Selagama*, 3 miles north of *Yalavatia*.³⁰

Other pre-Christian sites with inscriptions in this vicinity are:—(i) *Neluvakanda*, 3½ miles east of the 16th mile on the *Kandy-Mātālē* road; (ii) *Ganēgedera* Vihāra, at the 27th mile on the *Palāpat-vela-Dodangaslanda* road; (iii) *Rusigama*, 1 mile west of the 27th mile on the *Mātālē-Galēvela* road. There was therefore in ancient times a route from *Hiriyāla Hatpattu* in *Kurunāgala* district into the hills around *Mātālē*.

Laṅkāgiri district of Laṅkāpabbata-desa was an area corresponding to *Laggala Uḍasiya Pattu* (Geiger). In it was the village Ranambura, present *Ranamurē*, 5 miles south of *Pallēgama* (Codrington).³¹

Kaṇṭakapetaka-ṛaṭṭha was an area including portions of *Mātālē Uḍasiya Pattu* and *Laggala Uḍasiya Pattu* in *Mātālē* district and *Palis Pattu West* in *Uḍa Dumbara* (Geiger).³²

Girihālika or Girisālika monastery, in the inland country, was founded by Mahāllaka Nāga (136-143).³³

Maṇḍalārāmaka Mahāvihāra was in Kālakagāma, also called Kālāvela and Kallagāma-janapada: this was where the renowned thera, Malayadeva, studied in 1st B.C. and it was presumably in *Malaya*.³⁴

21. *M.* 70. 214-237, 297-299.

22. *M.* 72. 220-272.

23. *M.* 70. 174-178.

24. *M.* 70. 167: 72. 147, 263.

25. *E.Z.* IV. 57.

26. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), XXVI, 59: XXIX, 63.

27. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1932, 10.

28. *M.* 66. 78: 69. 9; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

29. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), XXXVI, No. 98; *Sig. Graff.* I, xl.

30. *M.* 33. 100, 101: 48. 3: 66. 71; *N.S.* 10; *Puj.* 19; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 121.

31. *M.* 66. 80: 70. 88; *E.Z.* I. 136.

32. *M.* 69. 9.

33. *D.* 22. 15-17; *M.* 35. 125.

34. *E.H.B.* 66, 69, 70, 75.

CHAPTER XV

THE KANDY AND NUVARA ELIYA DISTRICTS

The *Kandy* and *Nuvara Eliya* districts are the most mountainous regions in the wet zone of Ceylon. Flat lands of more than a few acres in extent are absent: paddy cultivation is practised in the valleys and on hill slopes in terraced fields.

(A). The Kandy District

The lower montane valley of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* around *Gampola*, *Kandy* and *Teldeniya* was populated in pre-Christian times as the inscriptions of that period at *Bambaragala Vihāra* (*Teldeniya*), *Hāragama*, *Dūvala*, *Vēgiriya* (near *Gampola*) and *Molagoḍa* attest. The village *Kolagama* is mentioned in one of the *Bambaragala* inscriptions. The two passes by which this mountainous region was attained at this early time are marked by two ascending series of contemporary inscriptions, and they were:—(i) *Aranāyaka-Gampola*; and (ii) *Ridiḡama-Ramboḡagalla-Molagoḍa*.¹

Yānleṇa, known by the same name today, is so named in a 14th century inscription near the 13th mile on the *Kandy-Kurunāgala* road. There is a pre-Christian inscription there. At *Galabāva Vihāra*, 1½ miles south of the 16th mile on the *Kandy-Kurunāgala* road, are cave inscriptions of the 1st century.²

Dumbara-raṭṭha, present *Uḍa Dumbara*, was in *Piḡiṭi* in the 12th century and later in *Māya*.³

In *Yatṭhikaṇḍa-raṭṭha*, a district in *Uḍa Dumbara* extending over the *Teldeniya* and *Mādugōḍa* areas, were:—(i) *Tālakhetta*; (ii) *Nāgapabbata*, present *Nāpāna* (Codrington); (iii) *Suvaṇṇadoṇi*; (iv) *Rāmucchuvallika*, present *Rambukvālla*, near *Teldeniya*; and (v) *Demaṭṭhapādatthalī*. *Dhanuvillika* is present *Dunuṇvīla*, 5 miles south-east of *Teldeniya* (Codrington).⁴

Majjhima-vagga, the district around *Mādivaka* in *Gampaha Kōralē*, *Uḍa Dumbara*, was in *Piḡiṭi* at the beginning of the 13th century (Codrington). In an inscription of *Sahassamalla* (1200-1202) at *Kevulḡama*, 4 miles south of the 26th mile on the *Kandy-Mahiyaṅgana* road, there is a reference to the land *Vālimaḡa* (presumably at *Kevulḡama*) in *Mādivāk*, present *Mādivaka*.⁵

Vāpivāṭaka-padesa was a large area, probably between *Nilagiri* and *Majjhima-vagga* districts. *Rerupallika-raṭṭha* and *Kosavagga* were areas adjacent or close to *Majjhima-vagga*: in *Kosavagga* was the place *Sisacchinnakabodhi*.⁶

Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) restored the *Nigamaggāma-pāsāda*, present *Niyangampāya*, 1 mile from *Gampola*. At *Sindhūravāna* the same king built *Vanaggāma-pāsāda* and *Abhayarāja-pariveṇa*.⁷

In the reign of *Vijayabāhu I* (1055-1110), three routes to *Sumana-kūṭa* (*Adam's Peak*) are specified:—(i) the route past *Gilimalaya* (*Gilimalē* in *Ratnapura* district); (ii) the *Rājaraṭṭha* route past *Kadaligāma*, present *Kehelgamuwa*; and (iii) the path from *Hūva* (*Ūva*). The king improved all the routes and provided shelter and necessities for monks and pilgrims. His inscription at *Ambēgamuwa*, near the 6th mile on the *Nāvalapīṭiya-Hatton* road, confirms the Chronicle. In it he states that he provided *dānasālā* on the *Rājaraṭṭha* road to *Samaneḷa* rock: that he had a net put over the sacred footprint, enclosed the topmost terrace with a great wall in which there were gateways, and built a lower terrace from which people of low caste could view the footprint: and that he granted lands in the following localities for the benefit of the footprint:—

(1) In *Vilbā* district, an area in *Ambēgamuwa Kōralē* to south and south-east of *Ginigātānna*:—

- (a) *Kelagamuwa*, present *Kehelgamuwa*;
- (b) *Tiniyagal*, present *Tiniyagala*;
- (c) *Soragoḍa*, present *Horakaḍa*;
- (d) The *Badulla* forest;
- (e) *Liyavaḷa*; and
- (f) *Uḍu-hō*.

(2) In *Kalaṅgavela* district, the area around *Ulaṇāṇē*, *Nāvalapīṭiya* and *Ambēgamuwa*:—

- (a) *Makuḷumula*;
- (b) *Ambagamuwa*, present *Ambēgamuwa*; here, at *Ambaggāma*, a bridge of 34 cubits (51 feet) was later built;
- (c) *Vāligampola*, present *Vāligampola*, near *Nāvalapīṭiya*; and
- (d) *Ulaṇāṇē*, present *Ulaṇāṇē*: later, at *Ullapannagāma*, also called *Kulapaṇa*, a bridge of 36 to 40 cubits (about 55 feet) was built.

Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) made a pilgrimage to the mountain and left two inscriptions below the summit. An Arabic inscription of the 12th or 13th century containing praises of Allah and Mohamet also

1. *C.J.S. (G)* II. 150, note 1: 227; *Sig. Graff.* I, lvii; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, 16: 1935, 10.

2. *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 127.

3. *M.* 70. 8; *E.Z.* III. 232.

4. *M.* 70. 10-13.

5. *M.* 70. 21; *E.Z.* III. 235: IV. 201.

6. *M.* 70. 21-29.

7. *M.* 88. 48-52.

occurs there. Marco Polo, about 1286, mentions the chains on the pilgrim path on the mountain. Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) visited the Peak and granted to it the land for 20 gāvutas (the Pūjā-valiya says 10 gav) around it : he improved the roads, repaired bridges and causeways, rebuilt the parapet wall on the summit, constructed a māṇḍapa over the footprint and secured the structure with chains to iron posts, and set up in the courtyard of the Cetiya an Image of the god Sāman ; the route taken by the king was :—(i) Gaṅgāsiripura, present *Gampola* ; (ii) Bodhitala or Bōtalē, where a bridge of 35 cubits (52 feet) was built ; (iii) Khajjota-nadī or Kaṇamādiri-hoya, where also a bridge of 30 cubits (45 feet) was built ; (iv) Ullapannagāma, present *Ulaṇā* ; and (v) Ambaggāma, present *Ambēgamuva*.⁸

(B). The Nuvara Eliya District

It is improbable that there were permanent settlements in the upper montane zone, above about 4,000 feet, prior to the 10th century. No earlier remains exist.

A 10th century inscription at *Harasbādda* in *Valaṇā Division* mentions :—(i) Elasara in Kohombagama ; (ii) Ambunora ; and (iii) Talagama.⁹

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's son, the prince Gāmaṇi Abhaya, went into hiding in the 2nd century B.C. in the district called Koṭṭamalaya or Koṭṭhamalaya. It is not at all certain that this name refers to modern *Kotmalē*. In the time of the invader Māgha (1214-1235) the Tooth and Bowl Relics were concealed at Kotthumala or Kotmalē in Māyāraṭṭha, modern *Kotmalē*.¹⁰

CHAPTER XVI

THE KALUTARA AND COLOMBO DISTRICTS

(A). The Kalutara District

The *Kalutara* district is in the wet zone and has a heavy rainfall. The terrain becomes hilly within a few miles of the coast, rising to a considerable height in the south-eastern part of the district. To north of the *Kalu Gaṅga* the *Kalutara* district possesses a few remains dating back to the early centuries A.C., but to south of the river there is nothing so ancient : the interior, as we are told in the *Cūlavamsa*, was largely wilderness till the 12th century.

Kaṇha-nadī or Kāla-nadī is the present *Kalu Gaṅga*. Kālatittha, present *Kalutara* was the seat for one year (1047) of Vikkamapaṇḍu, one of the rulers of Rohaṇa during the Cōla conquest from 993 to 1070. He had left Ceylon through fear during the lifetime of his father, Mahālānakitti, who was also ruler of Rohaṇa. When his father was vanquished in battle with the Cōlas, he returned from abroad to assume the rulership of Rohaṇa but took up residence not in the productive and populated part of his principality but at its remote western extremity. After ruling for a year, he was defeated and slain by an adventurer, Jagatipāla of Kanauj.¹

Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) is stated to have laid out a coconut plantation, one yojana broad, from *Kalutara* to *Bentoṭa*. The King's Minister built a bridge 86 cubits (129 feet) long at the mouth of the river, called Kalahōmuvadora, while another bridge 100 staves (750 feet) in length was constructed at Kadalisenagāma or Kēlsēnāva or Kehelsēnāva, modern *Kehelhēnāva*, a few miles up the river.²

In a 5th century inscription at *Diyagama*, 3 miles up river from *Kalutara*, the site, now bereft of all ancient remains above ground level, is named Kaḷaka Mahavihāra : this was the ancient Vihāra at *Kalutara*, and not the modern Residency, as is popularly believed. The inscription also mentions the market-town of Kalāṇiya (present *Kālāṇiya*) : in early times this area to north of the *Kalu Gaṅga* belonged to the old division of Kalyāṇi-desā, originally the Kingdom of Kalyāṇi.³

Paṇḍabhunu-danaviya is mentioned in an inscription of Sena III (938-946) at *Vālmilla*, near *Pokunuvīṭa*, and is identified by Parana-vitana as approximately present *Pāṇadūra Toṭamuna* and the adjacent

8. *M.* 60. 64-66 : 80. 24 : 85. 118-121 : 86. 18-36 ; *Puj.* 35, 48, 49 ; *Raj.* 60 ; *E.Z.* II. 215 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 21 ; *SimBo* 220 ; Yule, Marco Polo. II. 256.

9. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXVI, 64.

10. *M.* 32. 29 ; 81. 18 ; *M.T.* 462, 10 ; *Puj.* 38 ; *Raj.* 63.

1. *M.* 53. 20 : 56. 12.

2. *M.* 86. 41, 44 ; *Puj.* 49.

3. *A.I.C.* 85.

portion of *Rayigam Kōralē*: in it was Aruṅgam-peḷavaga which Parana-vitana suggests is modern *Aruggoḍa*, 4 miles from *Vālmilla*.⁴

Pokunaṇṇa Vihāra at the 9½ mile on the *Pāṇadura-Horana* road is an ancient temple: there is a fragmentary inscription there dated in the reign of Meghavaṇṇabhaya (302-322).⁵

Pañcayojana-raṭṭha or Pasyodun-vaga, present *Pasdun Kōralēs*, was, prior to Parakkamabāhu's rulership of Dakkhinadesa in the 12th century, a part of Rohaṇa. The region was a vast, swampy wilderness, and Parakkamabāhu drained the large swamps, leading the waters into the rivers, and made the land cultivable: he included Pañcayojana in his enlarged principality of Dakkhinadesa and made the *Bentota* river, instead of the *Kalu Gaṅga*, the boundary between his territory and Rohaṇa. His troops stationed in Pañcayojana district entered Rohaṇa down the coast as well as over the *Navadun* and *Moravak Kōralē* hills. *Bentota* was thereafter included in Pañcayojana.⁶

(B). The Colombo District

The *Colombo* district is in the low-country wet zone and is a well watered region with a comparatively heavy rainfall. There are large extents of flat land, hills being absent for many miles inland.

The *Colombo* and *Kāgalla* districts and part of the *Kalutara* district constituted the Kingdom of Kalyāṇī (*Kālaniya*) which had an independent or semi-independent existence in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. until Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya in B.C. 161 united the whole Island into one kingdom. Uttika-desa or Uttiya-janapada was a sub-division of Kalyāṇī-desa in the very early period. Inscriptions of princes of the Kalyāṇī dynasty exist at *Yaṭāhaleṇa* and *Leṇagala* in the *Kāgalla* district.⁷

The Buddha is said to have visited Kalyāṇī, modern *Kālaniya*, on the invitation of the local Nāga king (uncle of the Nāga king of Nāgadīpa), and to have consecrated the spot where the Kalyāṇī Cetiya afterwards stood. The Sinhalese Chronicles say that Yaṭālatissa built Kālani Vihāra and a Palace and reigned there, but the Pūjāvaliya later credits Kāvaṇtissa of Ruhuṇa with the building of the Cetiya. The Pāli Chronicles are silent about the foundation of Kalyāṇī Vihāra, but the Mahāvamsa tradition that Yaṭṭhālakatissa (Yaṭālatissa) ruled in Rohaṇa and not at Kalyāṇī is confirmed epigraphically. There is no authentic account, therefore, of the foundation of Kalyāṇī Vihāra.

4. *E.Z.* III. 301.

5. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 207.

6. *M.* 57. 71 : 61. 35 : 68. 51, 52 : 72. 57-64 : 85. 81 ; *E.Z.* IV. 208.

7. *M.* 22. 12-14 ; *E.M.* 22. 44 ; *U.C.R.* IX, No. 1, 20.

This Vihāra is said to have existed in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137) and to have been occupied by 500 bhikkhus. A pre-Christian inscription at *Maṇḍagala* in *Hambantota* district contains a reference to the family of Tīsa of Kālani. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) built an Uposatha House in Kalyāṇī Vihāra, and Vohārika Tissa (209-231) erected a parasol on the Cetiya. A 5th century inscription at *Diyaḡama*, near *Kalutara*, mentions the market-town (niyamātana) of Kālaniya. The historical Chronicles contain no reference to the Kalyāṇī Vihāra between the 4th and the 13th centuries. But the Pāli Commentaries inform us that the mouth of the river was known as Kalyāṇī mukhadvāra and that in Kalyāṇī district were:—(i) Nāgamahā Vihāra ; (ii) Kalakacchagāma ; (iii) Kāladighavāpidvāra Vihāra ; and (iv) Kāladighagāma. Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) records in his inscriptions that he visited Kālani Vihāra and effected repairs there. Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) restored the Cetiya which had been destroyed by the Damiḷas and repaired the eastern gate-tower, Image House, wall and other structures. Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1272) restored the 5-storeyed Pāsāda and the temples of the Recumbent and Tivāṅka Images, paved the courtyard of the Cetiya with stone slabs, and erected in front of the Cetiya a large maṇḍapa.⁸

Hatthavanagalla, present *Attanagalla*, is reputed, without historical foundation, to be the place where King Sirisaṃghabodhi (247-749) gave up his life: the story, with variations, is narrated in nearly all the Chronicles. Goṭṭābhaya (249-263) built a Vaṭṭa-dhāta-ghara (Vaṭa-dā-gē) on the spot where Sirisaṃghabodhi was cremated. Upatissa II (517-518) erected a 5-storeyed pāsāda with a roof of gilded tiles at the spot. Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) repaired the Vaṭa-dā-gē making it 3 storeys high, and built an octagonal Image House, as well as a Cetiya over the spot where his father had been cremated in the Vihāra premises.⁹

Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) built the Vijayabāhu Vihāra at Vattalagāma, present *Vattala*, a few miles north of *Colombo*. The place is also called Mahāvattalagāma, and Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) stationed his younger brother there to protect the seaboard.¹⁰

At Jayavaḍḍhanakoṭṭa, present *Kōṭṭē*, on the great lake and not far from the village *Dārugāma*, present *Dalugama*, Alagakkonāra

8. *M.* 1. 63-76 : 32. 51 : 36. 17, 34 : 81. 59-61 : 85. 64-68 ; *Puj.* 15, 16, 39, 46 ; *Raj.* 24, 62, 63 ; *E.H.B.* 113, App. IB ; *A.I.C.* 85 ; *E.Z.* I. 135 : II. 119, 141, 177 ; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, V, 71, note 21.

9. *M.* 36. 91-97 : 85. 72-77 : 86. 12-15, 37 ; *E.M.* 36. 97 ; *M.ī.* 671, 7 ; *Puj.* 23, 46 ; *Raj.* 50.

10. *M.* 81. 58 : 88. 22 ; *Puj.* 39.

built a new city, and Bhuvanekabāhu V (1360-1391) was the first king to make it his capital.¹¹

Epigraphical evidence confirms the historical evidence that the Colombo district was populated from times not later than the 2nd century B.C. There are cave inscriptions of pre-Christian date at *Kōratōta*, *Pilikuttuva* and *Maḍabaviṭa*. The rarity of suitable rocky sites for excavating caves is the explanation for the paucity of inscriptions: in the adjacent *Kāgalla* district where such sites are many, the inscriptions are many.¹²

Colombo, as a port, can be traced back historically to the year 949 when Muhammadan traders were settled there. In the 14th century it was the seat of a Muhammadan pirate with an Abyssinian garrison.¹³

CHAPTER XVII

THE KĀGALLA AND RATNAPURA DISTRICTS

(A). The Kāgalla District

The *Kāgalla* district is in the low-country wet zone and is a hilly region rising eastwards to the foothills of the central mountains.

Bell's 'Report on the Kegalle District' of 1892 is the foundation work for the study of the antiquities of this district. In the 2nd century B.C. it formed part of the Kingdom of Kalyāṇī (*Kālaṇiya*). Inscriptions of princes of this dynasty of rulers occur at *Yatahalena Vihāra* and *Lenagala*. *Yatahalena Vihāra* is near the 42nd mile on the Colombo-Kandy road and is a very ancient rock-temple, most probably identical with the *Yatthālaya Vihāra* of the Chronicles which was in existence in the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207). The inscriptions there name Raja Duśātara, who was the brother of Devānapiya, his son prince Śiva, his grandson prince Duśātara, and his great-grandson Gamaṇi(.) tiva: and they record the grant to the Vihāra of revenues from:—(i) Upaligama; (ii) Duśataragama; (iii) Paṭapagama; (iv) the town (nagara) of Nilaya; (v) Śalivaya; and (vi) Cemagama. The royal epigraph at *Lenagala*, which is off the 12th mile on the *Galigamuva-Ruvanvālla* road, is by prince Duhatara, the son of prince Śiva and grandson of prince Duhatara, and is a donation to the Saṅgha of lands in:—(i) Anamagama; and (ii) the town of Bata.¹

Other sites in the *Kāgalla* district where there are pre-Christian inscriptions are:—(i) *Hunnuvala Vihāra*, 1½ miles north of the 39th mile on Colombo-Kandy road; (ii) *Ranvala*, 3 miles north of the 41st mile on the same road; (iii) *Māmpita Vihāra*, ½ mile north of the 41½ mile on the same road; (iv) *Aluleṇa*, on *Karandupona* estate, 1½ miles south of the 51st mile on the same road; (v) *Danagirigala Vihāra*, 2 miles south of the 55th mile on the same road; (vi) *Hīnati-ponē*, 3 miles south of the 60th mile on the same road; (vii) *Ambalakanda*, off the *Aranāyaka-Nārangolla* road; (viii) *Pādiyagampola-kanda*, 3 miles north-west of *Rambukkana*; (ix) *Helapiṭalena*, 2 miles east of the 39th mile on the *Ambēpussa-Alavva* road; (x) *Salgalvanaya*, off the *Galigamuva-Ruvanvālla* road; (xi) *Ambēpussa*; (xii) *Timbiri-pola*, off the 32nd mile on the *Avissāvālla-Dehioviṭa* road; (xiii) *Dīvela*; (xiv) *Atugoda*; and (xv) *Pilimalena Vihāra*, near *Kitulgala*. These many sites are evidence of a widespread distribution of population in the *Kāgalla* district in pre-Christian times: some of them mark an ancient route into the hills via *Aranāyaka* to *Gampola*. But there is a strange epigraphical gap. Although inscriptions of the

11. M. 91. 3-9; N.S. 25.

12. U.C.R. VII, No. 4, 240; Sig. Graff. I, cx.

13. Codrington, S.H. 82.

pre-Christian period are fairly abundant, there is no surviving inscription in the district of the 1st to 8th centuries A.C. It is not inconceivable that with the opening up of large areas of the dry zone under irrigation in the early centuries A.C. the descendants of the pioneer population of the *Kāgalla* and *Colombo* wet zone districts migrated in large numbers to the more productive dry zone.²

In a 10th century inscription at *Pārapē* in *Kinigoḍa Kōralē*, the villages *Pārape* and *Vilba* (present *Vilbāva* in *Haṭ Kōralē*) are mentioned.³

After his defeat by the Cōlas about 1067, Vijayabāhu I retired to Vātagiri, present *Vākirigala* in *Galboḍa Kōralē*, and there fortified the rock and kept the enemy at bay for 3 months: again, when the Vēlaikkāras revolted, he sought refuge with all his valuables in the same fortress. Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) built a palace on the summit and stored his treasures there for safety, fearing an invasion: he also built a monastery on the rock.⁴

Virabāhu resided at Puṅkhagāma as ruler of Dakkhinadesa and Parakkamabāhu I was born there: on the site of the house in which he was born Parakkamabāhu afterwards built the Sūtighara Cetiya, 120 cubits (180 feet) high. Puṅkhagāma has been identified by Paranavitana as present *Dādigama*; the ruined Cetiya is now known as *Koṭavehera*. In a 10th century inscription at *Dādigama*, the place *Bilalviṭi* is mentioned.⁵

Saṅkhatthalī or Saṅkhanāyakatthalī or Saṅkhanāthatatthalī was the capital of Dakkhinadesa when Kittisirimegha was its ruler: he was succeeded by his nephew, Parakkamabāhu I. The place has been identified by Paranavitana as present *Pērādeni-nuvara*, near *Haṭnāgoḍa* (the present Sinhalese form of Saṅkhanāthatthalī) which is 5 miles north-east of *Dādigama*. This is a good illustration of how a place of importance in ancient times has acquired a new name, while the original name survives in a hamlet, sometimes in the name of a land: it also illustrates the large areas of the ancient villages. It was 5 gav (about 15 miles) from Saṅkhanāthatthalī to *Batalagoḍa* in *Kurunāgala* district, and on the way was the place *Pilimvatthu*.⁶

Mahāniyyāma-raṭṭha was the area around *Māniyangama*, near *Avissāvūlla*, and it extended into both *Kāgalla* and *Ratnapura* districts.⁷

2. Kegalle Report, 69-71; *A.I.C.* 87; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 177, 190, 195, 201, 202; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 9: 1952, 41, 43.

3. Kegalle Report, 72.

4. *M.* 58. 32: 60. 40: 88. 44.

5. *M.* 61. 27: 62. 18: 79. 61; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 195.

6. *M.* 63. 43: 64. 9, 22: 65. 4: 66. 9: 67. 78-95: 75. 5; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1955, 26.

7. *M.* 72. 57.

Malabaṭuva, identified by Paranavitana as present *Lambuṭuva*, and Kitsenpavu were granted to the General Kit Nuvaragal (Nagaragiri Kitti of the Cūlavamsa) for his successful expedition to Burma by an inscription, dated in the year 1165, of Parakkamabāhu I at *Devana-gala*, 3 miles south-east of *Māvanālla*.⁸

Āhunugalla is present *Āvunugala* in *Paranakuru Kōralē*; it is mentioned in a 12th century inscription there.⁹

At Billaselapabbata or Beligala, present *Beligala* in *Ōtara Pattuva* of *Beligal Kōralē*, Vijayabāhu III (1232-1236) built a secure fortress, intending it to be a place for the safe concealment of the Tooth and Bowl Relics. The eldest son of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) built a Pariveṇa there.¹⁰

(B). The Ratnapura District

The *Ratnapura* district can be apportioned between four climatic zones:—(i) the montane wet zone, comprising all the area in the *Adam's Peak* region; (ii) the montane dry zone, the hilly country above *Kaltoṭa* and the eastern face of the *Rakvāna* range; (iii) the low-country wet zone, extending over the whole gem-bearing area, namely, *Āhaliyagoḍa-Ratnapura-Pālmadulla-Kahavatta*; and (iv) the low-country dry zone, comprising the greater part of *Kolonna Kōralē*. A more or less level valley joins the two lowland zones: but above them the mountains rise sheer, forming a marked upper peneplain. The lowland wet zone has the highest rainfall in Ceylon.

From very early times Ceylon was famed among the Greeks, Indians, Romans, Chinese and Arabs as the land of precious stones. Today, and for some centuries past, the principal source of Ceylon gems has been the lowland wet zone of the *Ratnapura* district. There is no evidence that in times gone by another source of gems existed which has since become exhausted. It is strange, therefore, that no remains, monumental or epigraphical, earlier than the 10th century exist in the *Ratnapura* gem-bearing area. There is no lack of those rocky sites which the ancient Sinhalese selected everywhere else in Ceylon for building their numerous monasteries. The route to *Adam's Peak* through *Gilimalē*, which traverses the gemming area, is specifically mentioned in an inscription of the 11th century: the mountain was known and visited when the *Mahāvamsa* was compiled in the 5th century. A monastery could not exist, since the monks depended on alms and the produce of temple lands, where there was no settled population: where there were settled populations monasteries were established in great number from pre-Christian times, as the numerous ruins and epigraphs attest. The conclusion appears to be inescapable

8. *E.Z.* III. 325.

9. Kegalle Report, 76.

10. *M.* 81. 33: 85. 58; *Puj.* 38, 46; *Raj.* 63.

that, although the *Ratnapura* lowland wet zone was always the principal source of gems—and gems were a major export product—there was no permanent settlement in that area. In all probability, gemming was a royal monopoly, carried out seasonally under the supervision of the King's officers, and to protect the monopoly permanent settlement in the region was prohibited.

Sumanakūṭa or Samanoḷa (*Adam's Peak*) is not mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the oldest historical Chronicle. The *Mahāvamsa*, compiled two or three centuries later, narrates that the Buddha visited Sumanakūṭa and 'left the traces of his footprints plain to sight': he spent the rest of the day at the foot of the mountain. It would appear, therefore, that the tradition about the Buddha's visit to Sumanakūṭa was not current when the *Dīpavaṃsa* was compiled. The two children of Vijaya by the Yakkhiṇī Kuvannā are said to have fled to Sumanakūṭa and settled in that region: from them sprang the Pulindās. According to the *Mahāvamsa* there were 900 monks on the mountain in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). Ākāsa Cetiya in Sumanagiri Vihāra is mentioned in the Commentaries and the latter has been taken to refer to Sumanakūṭa. In the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110), three pilgrim routes to the mountain are mentioned:—(i) the route past Gilimalaya, present *Gilimalē*; (ii) the Rajaraṭa route past Kadaligāma, present *Kehelgamuwa*, near *Ginigātanna*; and (iii) the path from Hūva (*Ūva*). The king improved all the routes and provided shelter and necessities for monks and pilgrims. His inscription at *Ambēgamuwa*, beyond *Nāvalapitiya*, confirms the Chronicle. In it he states that he provided *dānasālā* on the Rajaraṭa road to Samanoḷa rock: that he had a net put over the sacred footprint, enclosed the topmost terrace with a great wall in which there were gateways, and built a lower terrace from which people of low caste could view the footprint; and that he granted lands in several villages for the benefit of the footprint. Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) made a pilgrimage to the mountain and left two inscriptions below the summit. An Arabic inscription of the 12th or 13th century containing praises of Allah and Mohamet also occurs there. Marco Polo, about 1285, mentions the chains on the pilgrim route to the mountain. Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) visited the Peak and granted to it the land for 20 gāvutas (the Pūjāvaliya says 10 gav) around it: he improved the roads, repaired bridges and causeways, rebuilt the parapet wall on the summit, constructed a maṇḍapa over the footprint and secured the structure with chains to iron posts, and set up in the courtyard of the Cetiya an Image of the god Sāman.¹¹

Pre-Christian cave inscriptions occur at the following ancient sites, all in the dry zone section of *Ratnapura* district:—(i) *Saṅkha-pāla* Vihāra, near the 86½ mile on the *Pālmaḍulla-Ambalantōḷa* road;

11. D. 15. 48; 17. 14; M. 1. 77, 78; 7. 67, 68; 32. 51; 60. 64-66; 80. 24; 85. 118-121; 86. 18-36; Puj. 35. 48, 49; Raj. 60; E.H.B. 114, 150; C.J.S. (G) II. 21; E.Z. II. 215; Yule, Marco Polo, II, 256.

(ii) *Kirimakulgolla*, about 12 miles south-east of *Balangōḍa*; (iii) *Kūragala*, high up above *Kaltota*; (iv) *Diyaṇṇa*; and (v) *Vehera-gōḍālla*, near *Galpāya*. One of the cave inscriptions at *Kirimakulgolla* is by prince Mahāśiva, son of prince Kera.¹²

Sapara or Saparagamu is present *Sabaragamuwa*. The Māra mountains were probably in *Sabaragamuwa*.¹³

In a 10th century inscription at *Galpāya*, about 6 miles north-east of the 88th mile on the *Pālmaḍulla-Ambalantōḷa* road, the name *Giri-maṇḍula* occurs and apparently refers to the region around *Galpāya*.¹⁴

Rakkhapāsāṇakanaṭṭha was the frontier between Vijayabāhu and the Cōlas: it is either modern *Rakvāna* or a place north of *Buttala* district.¹⁵

Cunṇasālā-janapada, at the foot of the Malaya mountains, was the district around *Hunuvāla*, near *Pālmaḍulla* (Geiger); in the district was *Sarivaggapiṭṭhi*, present *Hiripitiya*, near *Hunuvāla*.¹⁶

Parakkamabāhu's troops from the *Avissāvālla* area and *Pasdun Kōralē* entered and took possession of Navayojana-raṭṭha, present *Navadun Kōralē*, then a district in Rohaṇa, and, as pointed out by Codrington, a much larger area than it is now, extending over present *Kukul Kōralē*, *Hinidum Pattu* and *Moravak Kōralē*.¹⁷

In suppressing the Rohaṇa rebellion, Parakkamabāhu's troops at Donivagga, present *Deṇavaka*, made Navayojana district their next objective. From Navayojana they advanced to Kālagiribhaṇḍa, which Codrington has identified as the ancient Kalugalboda-raṭṭa, the mountainous country of *Kukul*, *Atakalan*, *Kolonna* and *Moravak Kōralēs*. In the course of subsequent fighting, actions were fought at:—(i) *Guralaṭṭhakalañcha*, present *Atakalan Pannē* in *Atakalan Kōralē* (Codrington); (ii) *Pūgadaṇḍaka-āvāṭa* or *Pūgadaṇḍāvāṭa*, present *Dandāva*, between *Kahavatta* and *Opanāke* (Geiger); (iii) *Tambagāma*, present *Tambagamuwa*, 8 miles east-south-east of *Mādampē* (Codrington); (iv) *Bodhiāvāṭa*, probably *Bōgahavela*, 2½ miles south of *Butkanda*; (v) *Bhinnālvānagāma*, present *Binnēgama*, near *Butkanda*; and (vi) *Antarandāmahābodhikkandha*, present *Butkanda* (Codrington).¹⁸

12. C.J.S. (G) II. 197; A.S.C.A.R., 1952, 42; 1955, 35; J.R.A.S. (C.B.) XXXII, 158.

13. M. 48. 129; 78. 8.

14. J.R.A.S. (C.B.) XXXII, 178.

15. M. 55. 22; 57. 67.

16. M. 57. 46, 53, 57.

17. M. 72. 57-62.

18. M. 72. 57-62; 75. 77, 86, 91, 97, 144.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CITY OF ANURĀDHAPURA

(A). Introduction

The tradition is that Anurādhapura was first founded as a village settlement in the second half of the 6th century B.C. by a Minister named Anurādhā of the first, traditional King, Vijaya. Some years later a Sakka prince of the same name was overlord there: he built a tank, and to south of the tank, a residence. 'Because it had served as dwelling to two Anurādhās and also because it was founded under the constellation Anurādhā, it was called Anurādhapura'. King Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have made it his capital in the 4th century B.C. and to have laid out the town and its suburbs in a planned way. He solemnised his consecration with water from a natural pond there and thereafter deepened the pond and named it Jayavāpi: he also constructed Abhayavāpi or Bayāvāva (present *Basavak-kulam*) and Gāmaṇivāpi or Gāmaṇitissavāpi (probably present *Perumiyankulam*). The king's palace was situated within a walled Citadel or Inner City. Outside the south gate of the Citadel was the Nandana Park, and further southward, the Mahāmegha Park: both afterwards became the domain of the Mahāvihāra.

The embellishment of the town with thūpas and vihāras began in the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) but these earliest buildings were neither large nor elaborate. The embellishment proper commenced with King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, who ascended the throne in B.C. 161, and continued unabated to the closing years of the 10th century, a period of 1150 years. The City's two main architectural and art forms, the early and the mediæval, were probably exhibited at their fullest development in the 3rd/4th and 9th/10th centuries respectively. The Chinese monk, Fa-Hsien, who visited Ceylon from 411 to 413, has given a description of Anurādhapura as he saw it, and he says that 'it was full of lay chiefs, dwellings of head-merchants grand, main streets and side streets level and well-kept, and between 50,000 and 60,000 monks in the City': he mentions also the rich decoration of the temples, the beautiful works of art and the great procession of the Tooth Relic. The walled Citadel or Inner City, within which was the Royal Palace, had an area of about 200 acres. No traces exist of an outer ring of walls enclosing both Citadel and City, whose area in the 10th century extended to nearly 20 square miles.¹

1. *D.* 9. 35 : 13. 11-25 : 13. 30-34 ; *M.* 7. 43 : 9. 11 : 10. 73-78, 83 102 : 35. 98, 120 ; *E.Z.* I. 256 ; *Puj.* 2 ; *C.J.S.* (G) I. 52 ; Fa-Hsien's Travels by H. A. Giles.

The City of Anurādhapura was sacked on at least four occasions prior to its abandonment as the capital in the last decade of the 10th century:—

- (i) during the civil war in the first half of the 7th century: the rival princes despoiled the temples and shrines when they had exhausted the resources of the State Treasury;
- (ii) about 840 by the invading Pāṇḍyans who 'left the splendid city in a state as if it had been plundered by Yakkhas';
- (iii) during the Cōḷa invasion in the reign of Udaya IV (946-954); and
- (iv) during the Cōḷa conquest and occupation lasting from about 993 to 1070: the Cōḷas 'took all the treasures of Laṅkā for themselves'.

There were two subsequent periods of invasion and conquest, after Anurādhapura had ceased to be the capital, when the whole of Rājaraṭṭha was given over to pillage:—(a) from 1214 to 1239, during the rule of the Kālinga invader, Māgha, who, 'like a scorching fire utterly devastated the whole of Laṅkā', and (b) in 1240 by the Javanese invader, Candabhānu, who 'ravaged the country anew, laying waste all Laṅkā'.²

These depredations were followed by extensive restorations in the reigns of Aggabodhi IV (667-683), Sena II (853-887), Kassapa V (914-923), and Mahinda IV (956-972). Vijayabāhu I liberated Ceylon in 1070 from Cōḷa rule which had lasted 77 years, but the task of making good all the damage done by plunder and pillage was beyond his depleted resources, and the restorations made by him at Anurādhapura were superficial. When Parakkamabāhu I ascended the throne in 1153 he found that Anurādhapura 'had been utterly destroyed in every way by the Cōḷa army: the temples were overgrown with great trees and bears and leopards dwelt there'. He restored the great thūpas and a few other important buildings which were in ruin. Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) found 'a mighty forest grown up round the sacred places in Anurādhapura': he carried out some minor restorations. 993 (circa) was the fateful year of the great sack of the city: thereafter it ceased to be the capital, its great monasteries were no longer cared for, and the jungle tide soon began to overwhelm it. Some attempt was made to restore its principal buildings about 175 years later: another attempt, on a smaller scale, was assayed some 280 years later. Then its ruins relapsed again into forest from which the work of reclaiming them began in 1890. From the 7th century, Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruwa) was sometimes used by the kings as a temporary seat of government during disturbed times, but Anurādhapura continued to be the capital and

2. *M.* 44. 130-134 : 50. 33-36 : 53. 40-46 : 55. 12-22 : 80. 54-78 : 83. 36-48 : 88. 62-73.

the kings returned to it when the disturbances ceased. The predominance of Anurādhapura as the Royal City of Laṅkā began in the 4th century B.C. and terminated in the last years of the 10th century A.C.³

Several ancient sites at Anurādhapura possess an authentic history which goes back to pre-Christian times, but it would be entirely erroneous to date the ruins which now stand on those sites to the period of their original foundation. Buildings, then as now, needed repair and renovation. Moreover, architectural design and style were not static but underwent change and refinement. 1st century styles, which we now call archaic, were equally archaic in the 10th century. When old and decayed structures needed renovation, they were rebuilt in the latest architectural style and frequently lost all trace of their original form. Buildings of special sanctity were not preserved in original as antiquities, as is the modern practice: on the other hand, the latest embellishments were applied first to them. The Anurādhapura period of nearly 13 centuries witnessed varying phases and radical changes in architectural and art forms.

(B). The Mahāvihāra Entourage

The Mahāvihāra, also called the Tissārāma (Mahamevnā Tisaram in medieval inscriptions) was founded in B.C. 246 by Devānaṃpiya Tissa and presented to the great Thera, Mahinda. Its territory comprised the Jotivana (previously called Nandana) and Mahāmegha Parks, the area to south and south-east of the citadel. In his progress through the Mahāmeghavana, accompanied by the King, before the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra, Mahinda halted at the following spots:— (i) the picula (S. pulila) tree on the south side of the royal pavilion, where the Raṇsimālaka afterwards stood; (ii) a bathing tank, afterwards the Jantāghara; (iii) the gateway of the king's pavilion, afterwards the site of the Bodhi Tree; (iv) the Mahāmucalamālaka, the site of the later Lohapāsāda; (v) the Pañhambamālaka, the place where gifts would afterwards be distributed to the Saṅgha; (vi) the Cātussālā, afterwards the refectory of the Mahāvihāra; and (vii) the site of the later Mahāthūpa. Within the confines of the Mahāvihāra lay the most sacred sites in the city, the Bodhi Tree, Mahāthūpa, Lohapāsāda, Thūpārāma and Maricavaṭṭi: Thūpārāma stood in the Jotivana (Nandana) Park, the others in Mahāmeghavana (Mahamevnā or Mahamevnā). The Mahāvihāra was the seat of the orthodox, Hinayāna doctrine, but after the foundation in B.C. 89 of the Abhayagiri Vihāra, which became the centre of the heterodox, Mahāyāna doctrine, its supremacy was often challenged. The Chronicles (Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvamsa, Cūlavamsa, Nikāya Saṅgharāva Pūjāvaliya, etc.) treat the history of Ceylon from the point of view of the Mahāvihāra. The rivalry between these two great monastic establishments was frequently bitter. In the reign of Mahāsena (275-301) a very serious crisis

developed. The King attempted to destroy the Mahāvihāra and forbade the people to give alms to its monks: in consequence, the monks were compelled to abandon the Vihāra for 9 years and to seek sustenance in the mountain region (Malaya) and in Rohaṇa. The great buildings of the Mahāvihāra were dismantled and the materials utilised for new structures at Abhayagiri Vihāra which 'became rich in buildings and was made stately to see'. A threat of civil war stopped further despoliation: the king affected repentance and made good some of the damage done. But soon afterwards he violated Mahāvihāra territory and built the great monastery Jetavanārāma in the Jotivana Park. Mahāsena's successors completed the rebuilding and restoration of the Mahāvihāra, but its supremacy was undermined. Fa-Hsien (411-413) says there were 3,000 monks in residence at the Mahāvihāra in his time. In the 5th century, Cetiyaṭṭhāra Vihāra (*Mihintalē*) passed into the control of Abhayagiri Vihāra. In the 6th and 7th centuries there were further crises in the relations between the two great Vihāras and in one controversy the Mahāvihāra was vindicated. In the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries the kings generally remained faithful to the Mahāvihāra tradition but bestowed their endowments in equal measure on Abhayagiri.⁴ In the Mahāvihāra were:—

(i) THE BODHI TREE. The received tradition is that the Bodhi Tree was a sapling of the Tree at Bodhi-Gaya in India, that it was brought to Laṅkā by Saṃghamitta with the consent of the Mauryan Emperor, Asoka, and that it was planted at Anurādhapura, on ground consecrated by the Buddha, by Devānaṃpiya Tissa in B.C. 246 in the presence of Mahinda Thera and a great multitude. A large, square, walled enclosure with 4 entrances formed the courtyard of the Sacred Tree. Sirināga I (189-209) restored the steps at the 4 entrances. Sirināga II (240-242) rebuilt the enclosing wall. Abhayanāga (231-240) built the stone vedika: Goṭhābhaya (249-263) repaired the vedika and also erected an arched gateway at the north entrance, a stone throne at the south entrance, and 3 stone statues at the north, east and west entrances: further, he erected pillars with carved wheel-symbols at the 4 corners of the courtyard. Fa-Hsien (411-413) saw the Tree propped up because it was leaning to the south-east: he says there was a shrine at the foot of the Tree with an Image of Buddha in it. Every 12th year of their reigns, the kings celebrated a special festival for the Bodhi Tree. Dhātusena (455-473) erected 16 bronze statues of 'bath-maidens' and instituted a bathing festival. Mahānāga (569-571) constructed an irrigation trench round the Tree

4. D. 13. 11-25, 30-34: 14. 20-42: 17. 89; M. 11. 2, 3: 15. 1-25, 174-177, 202-203: 20. 17: 33. 95-98: 36. 10-13: 37. 3-16, 29-39, 54-64: 38. 76; N.S. 11-16; E.Z. I. 35: IV. 66.

3. M. 78. 96-107: 88. 80-89; C.J.S. (G) II. 241.

and Sena II (853-887) restored the trench.⁵ Within the courtyard of the Bodhi Tree were the following buildings :—

- (a) The Bodhi Tree House, first built by Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207). Dhātusena (455-473) rebuilt the Bodhi Tree House and decorated its walls with frescoes. Kittisirimegha (551-569) covered the roof of the House with tin plates, and Mahānāga (569-672) re-roofed the House and placed Images inside it. Aggabodhi II (604-614) had a well dug beside the Bodhi Tree House. Dappula (659) rebuilt the Mahā-Bō-Gē. Sena II (853-887) built a beautiful Temple beside the Tree: presumably this was an addition to the Bodhi Tree House. The stone Image of the Buddha in the Bodhi Tree House is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972).⁶
- (b) The Bodhi Tree Temple. Vasabha (67-111) built the Bodhi Tree Temple which contained 4 Images. Vohārika Tissa (209-231) placed two bronze Images on the eastern side of the Temple. Jetthatissa I (263-275) built 3 gateways to it. Mahāsena (275-301) set up two bronze Images on the west side of the Temple. Dhātusena (455-473) added a Bodhisatta Temple and adorned its walls with frescoes. Aggabodhi I (571-604) built beside the Temple a stone terrace with a large oil pit. Aggabodhi VII (772-777) rebuilt the Temple solidly. Dappula II (815-831) restored and gilded it. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) repaired it.⁷
- (c) A Thūpa and a Thūpaghara (Vaṭa-dā-gē) were built by the Queen of Vasabha (67-111);
- (d) The Hamsavaṭṭa, a beautiful shrine, was built by Sirināga II (240-242) in the sandcourt: he also built a pavilion of large size.⁸

(ii) THŪPĀRĀMA or Tumbārup-vehera. The Thūpa was built by Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207), on ground said to have been consecrated by the Buddha, to enshrine the Buddha's right collar-bone Relic. The core of the thūpa was of lumps of clay taken from the bed of the Abhaya tank (*Basavak-kulam*) and bricks were laid over the clay. The king also founded a Vihāra for the thūpa. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree was planted in the Vihāra. Lañjatissa (B.C. 119-110) added a stone mantling to the thūpa. The Thūpaghara (Vaṭa-dā-gē) was built by Vasabha (67-111). In an inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136) the Vihāra is called Tubaraba. Goṭhābhaya (249-263) restored the Thūpaghara. Jetthatissa I (263-275) removed a large, stone Image of the Buddha from Thūpārāma to Pācinatissapabbata

Vihāra: later, Mahāsena (275-301) installed this Image in Abhayagiri Vihāra. Upatissa I (365-406) made a gold casing for the pinnacle of the thūpa. Dhātusena (455-473) carried out repairs. Aggabodhi II (604-614) completely renovated the thūpa and thūpaghara, his repairs extending to the temporary removal of the collar-bone Relic from the Relic chamber: the Relic chamber itself was renovated and many new reliquaries were placed inside. Dāthopatisa I (639-650) robbed the golden finial of the thūpaghara and the umbrella of the thūpa, broke open the Relic chamber and appropriated the treasures within to raise money to pay his soldiers. Kassapa II (650-659) restored the thūpa. Mānavamma (684-718) restored the roof of the thūpaghara. Aggabodhi VI (733-772) repaired the doors and transposed the pillars of the thūpaghara. Mahinda II (777-797) enclosed the thūpa in a gold and silver casing. Dappula II (815-831) covered the thūpaghara over with golden bricks and installed doors of gold. The Pāṇḍyans in 840 plundered the casing and the jewels, as well as the treasures inside the thūpa. Sena II (853-887) restored the gold-plate casing, and Udaya II (887-898) also covered the thūpa with gold-plate. Mahinda IV (956-972) covered the thūpa with strips of gold and silver, and installed a gold door in the thūpaghara. The Cōlas plundered the entire Vihāra during their conquest at the end of the 10th century. Parakamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the thūpa and the thūpaghara.⁹ Within or near Thūpārāma were:—

- (a) The Upasatha House, built by Bhātikabhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7). Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29) added an inner courtyard and a verandah, and built a Pavilion studded with precious stones. Bhātikatissa (143-167), Goṭhābhaya (249-263), Aggabodhi II (604-614) and Mahinda II (777-797) restored the building;¹⁰
- (b) The Cittasālā was a 'Hall of Paintings' to east of Thūpārāma in sight of the Bodhi Tree, erected in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. next to the site where Saṃghamitta was cremated;¹¹
- (c) Saṃghamitta Cetiya, on the site of Saṃghamitta's cremation, was built by Uttiya (circa B.C. 200);¹²
- (d) Dighathūpa or Silāthūpa, to east of Thūpārāma, was built by Lañjatissa (B.C. 119-110); (see (m) below)
- (e) A Pāsāda for the Paṃsukūlins was built by Mānavamma (684-718);
- (f) A Pāsāda was built by Udaya II (887-898);

5. D. 16. 1-41 : 17. 89 : 22. 38, 47, 57 ; M. 19. 39-59 : 20. 18 : 36. 25, 52, 55, 103, 104 : 38. 56 : 41. 94 : 51. 78 : 1. 81 : 15. 205.

6. M. 15. 205 : 38. 43, 69 : 41. 65, 94 : 42. 66 : 51. 53-59 ; Puj. 31, 34 ; E.Z. II. 70.

7. M. 35. 89 : 36. 31, 126 : 37. 31 : 38. 67 : 42. 19 : 48. 70 : 49. 74 : 60. 62 ; Puj. 34.

8. M. 35. 90 : 36. 56.

9. D. 15. 19-31 : 17. 91 : 20. 11 : 21. 35, 36 : 22. 5 ; M. 17. 28-38 : 19. 61 : 20. 17 : 33. 23 : 35. 87 : 36. 106, 128 : 37. 14, 43, 207 : 38. 70 : 42. 51-61 : 44. 133, 138, 139 : 47. 65 : 48. 66, 140 : 49. 81 : 50. 35 : 51. 128 : 54. 42 : 78. 107 ; Puj. 12, 21, 34 ; E.Z. I. 101, 211 : III. 116.

10. D. 21. 29 : 22. 21 ; M. 34. 39 : 35. 4 : 36. 4, 107 : 48. 141 : 42. 58.

11. M. 20. 52, 53.

12. Ibid.

- (g) A Dwelling to west of Thūpārāma was built by the Senāpati of Kassapa IV (898-914);
- (h) The Behed-Ge (dispensary) at Tumbarab (Thūpārāma) is mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914);
- (i) The Dappula Dwelling, not far from Thūpārāma, was built by the Senāpati Rakkhaka Ilaṅga of Dappula IV (924-935);
- (j) A beautiful Pariveṇa with a bathing tank, to west of Thūpārāma, was built by the Queen of Mahinda IV (956-972);
- (k) The Pala-balavi-mēdhāvi Almshouse, to east of Thūpārāma, was built by Queen Līlāvatī (1197-1200);
- (l) The Saṃghapāla Pariveṇa existed in the reign of Goṭhābhaya (249-263).¹³
- (m) In the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914) a home for bhikkhuṇis was built in Padalañchana. Mahinda IV (956-972) repaired at Padalañchana the beautiful temple of the four Cetiya which had been burnt down by the Cōlas. Dr. Paranavitana has identified Padalañchana or Padalasa with the four Cetiya, situated to the east of Thūpārāma, built to mark sites believed to have been impressed with the Footprints of the four Buddhas of this kalpa. (M 52.63: 54.44; Padalañchana at Anurādhapura, by S. Paranavitana). The Silāthūpa referred to in (d) above was the smallest of the four Cetiya at Padalañchana.

(iii) LOHAPĀSĀDA or Lōvā-maha-pāya, popularly but erroneously called the 'Brazen Palace'. The site was originally the Mahāmucala-mālaka and was consecrated by Mahinda Thera. Devānāmpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) built the first Lohapāsāda. A great, new building was erected by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137); it was 100 cubits (150 feet) high and 100 cubits square, 9-storeyed, supported on 40 rows of pillars with 40 pillars in each row, and had 100 windows in each storey and 1,000 rooms in all: it was adorned with coral and precious stones, and its roof was covered with plates of burnished copper. This building, doubtless exaggerated in description, was destroyed by fire in the reign of the next king, Saddhātissa, (B.C. 137-119) and was rebuilt 7 storeys high. Bhatikābhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7) repaired it. Aṃaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29) added an inner courtyard and an inner verandah and a Pavilion studded with precious stones. Sirināga II (240-242) restored the building to a height of 5 storeys. Goṭhābhaya (249-263) renewed the pillars. Jeṭṭhatissa I (263-275) raised the building to a height of 7 storeys and presented to it a valuable jewel. Mahāsena (275-301) completely demolished the building and carried away its materials to Abhayagiri Vihāra: the site was ploughed and sown

13. D. 19. 13 : 20. 11 ; M. 33. 24 : 36. 115 : 47. 66 : 48. 141 : 51. 129 : 52. 16. 53. 11 : 54. 50 ; E. Z. I. 161. 181.

with grain. Sirimeghavanna (301-328) rebuilt it, Dhātusena (455-473) renovated it, and Aggabodhi I (571-604) restored it. Aggabodhi IV (667-683) covered the central pinnacle afresh. Mānavamma (684-718) renewed the roof. The Pāṇḍyans partly destroyed and plundered the building in the reign of Sena I (833-853). Sena II (853-887) rebuilt it and installed in it an Image of gold. Kassapa V (913-923) repaired it and crowned it with a pinnacle. Mahinda IV (956-972) repaired the bronze work of the Ruvanpahā of the Mahamevna-mahavehera. The Cōlas destroyed the building at the end of the 10th century. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) raised again its 1,600 pillars and partly restored it.¹⁴ Attached to or close to the Lohapāsāda were:—

- (a) 32 Pāsādas round it, built by Khallāṭanāga (B.C. 110-103);
- (b) A Pavilion in the courtyard built by Abhayanāga (231-240);
- (c) The Pañhambamālaka or Pānambamaḷuva, a terraced space between the Lohapāsāda and the Mahāthūpa, closer to the former, where the body of the great Thera, Mahinda, lay in state and where gifts were distributed to monks.¹⁵

(iv) MAHĀTHŪPA (*Ruvanvālisāya*). The site is said to have been consecrated by the Buddha and to have been marked by an inscribed pillar set up by Devānāmpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) at the upper end of the Kakudha pond. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya built the Mahāthūpa (B.C. 137) but died before it was completed: Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119) finished the work remaining to be done on the superstructure and the Elephant wall and completed the plastering. The Thūpa was 120 cubits (180 feet) high. Lañjatissa (B.C. 119-110) faced the terraces (berms) with limestone blocks. Kallāṭanāga (B.C. 110-103) made the sand courtyard which runs all round the terrace and is bounded on the outside by a wall. Bhātikābhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7) built two vedikas (railings), one on the summit of the dome and the other round the topmost terrace, and renewed the plaster work. Mahādāthikamahānāga (7-19) widened the Elephant path, enlarged the sand courtyard and paved it with ornamental stones. Aṃaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29) reconstructed the two railings, one on the summit of the dome and the other at the base, and added a second umbrella over the existing one. The Thūpa and its monastery are called Ratana-araba in an inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136). Sirināga I (189-209) reconstructed and gilded the umbrella. Saṃghatissa (243-247) gilded the umbrella and put on it a ring of crystal, and fixed four great gems on the four sides of the tee. Mittasena (428) made a gateway (torāṇa) through the Elephant wall. Dhātusena (455-473) restored

14. D. 19. 1 : 20. 4-6 : 22. 36 ; M. 15. 36, 205 : 27. 1-10, 24-27, 46-47 : 32. 27 : 33. 6, 7 : 34. 39 : 35. 3, 4 : 36. 25, 102, 124 : 37. 11, 62 : 38. 54 : 42. 20 : 46. 30 : 47. 65 : 51. 69-71 : 78. 102-104 ; N.S. 10, 18 ; Puj. 11, 16, 24, 31, 32, 34 ; E.Z. I. 228.

15. D. 17. 103 ; M. 15. 38 : 20. 39-42 : 33. 30 : 36. 52 ; Puj. 11.

and gilded the umbrella, fixed round it a ring of crystal in which was embedded a great precious stone, and added decorative stucco work. Mahānāga (569-571) restored the stucco work, built the hatthivedi (railing ornamented with elephant heads), and renovated the paintings. Aggabodhi I (571-604) installed an umbrella of stone, gilded over and weighing 1½ tons. Moggallāna III (614-619) renovated the thūpa. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the thūpa, which had fallen into decay after the Cōla conquest in 993, to its original height of 120 cubits. Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) carried out repairs and erected upon the platform a stone replica of the thūpa.¹⁶ Near the Mahāthūpa were:—

- (a) The Catussālā, a rectangular building used as the refectory, between the Lohapāsāda and the Mahāthūpa, closer to the latter, built by Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) and restored by Vasabha (67-111);¹⁷
- (b) The Therānaṃbhandha-mālaka, where the body of Mahinda Thera was cremated. The Dīpavaṃsa says the place was close to and outside the east gate of the Mahāvihāra, but the Mahāvamsa states, on the contrary, that it was to west of the later Mahāthūpa. The spot was later called Isibhūmaṅgaṇa and adjacent to it, Uttiya (circa B.C. 200) built the Mahinda Cetiya to enshrine part of the Relics of Mahinda. To Isibhūmaṅgaṇa the bodies of holy men were afterwards brought for cremation. Dhātusena (455-473) held a great commemoration festival there in honour of Mahinda;¹⁸
- (c) The Makuṭamuttasālā was built at the spot where the court dancers laid off their head-ornaments at the cremation of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 137);¹⁹
- (d) The Rājamālaka, where Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya's body was cremated, and Ravivaṭṭisālā were to south of Mahāthūpa and close to it: the later Dakkhina Vihāra has been identified as the site of the cremation;²⁰
- (e) The ground between the Mahāthūpa and Thūpārāma was filled and made level in the reign of Laṅkatissa (B.C. 119-110);²¹

16. D. 19. 2, 10: 20. 1, 5, 6, 9: 21. 13-27: 22. 35, 38, 40, 48, 49, 52; M. 15. 52, 169-173: 20. 18, 19: Caps. 28 to 31: 32. 1-9, 28: 33. 5, 22, 31: 34. 39, 46, 58. 69, 70: 35. 1, 2: 36. 24. 65, 66: 38. 10, 54, 74: 41. 95: 42. 32: 44. 44: 78. 97; Puj. 17, 20, 34, 37; E.Z. II. 82. 119: III. 116.

17. M. 15. 47, 206: 35. 88.

18. D. 17. 106-109; M. 20. 42-47.

19. M. 32. 78.

20. M. 32. 79, 80.

21. M. 33. 23.

- (f) The Silāsobbhakaṇḍaka Cetiya, on a lofty spot to north of the Mahāthūpa, was built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77): this may be the present *Laṅkāraṃma*;²²
- (g) The Chattavaḍḍhi Pariveṇa was south of and close to the Elephant wall of the Mahāthūpa and was built by Moggallāna I (491-508);²³
- (h) A Bathing Tank was built by Mahinda II (777-797);²⁴
- (i) The Mārā Hall, an adjunct of Mahasā (Mahāthūpa) was built by Mahinda IV (956-972);²⁵
- (v) MARICAVATṬI Vihāra (*Mirisvāṭiya*). The thūpa was constructed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137) and in it he enshrined his spear which contained a Relic. Gajabāhu I (114-136) made a mantling for the thūpa. Vohārika Tissa (209-231) renovated the umbrella and built a wall. Kassapa V (914-923) restored the thūpa and all the buildings in the Vihāra which is called Mirisvāṭi in his inscription. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the thūpa to a height of 80 cubits (120 feet). Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) carried out some restoration work at Mirisvāṭi. In the Vihāra were:—
 - (a) The Uposatha House, built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). Goṭṭhābhaya (249-263) repaired it and Kassapa V (914-923) restored it;
 - (b) A massive Pāsāda was built by Kassapa II (650-659) and restored by Kassapa V (914-923);
 - (c) The Candana Pāsāda was built by Mahinda IV (956-972) to house the Hair Relic: in an inscription of this king he records that he built the Raksā-ge for the Hair Relic. The original Temple for the Hair Relic was built by Moggallāna I (491-508): it contained paintings and statues of persons and of a horse: its location is not stated;²⁶
- (vi) Other Buildings in the Mahāvihāra. The other buildings in the Mahāvihāra included:—
 - (a) The following structures built by Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207):—Kālapāsāda; Sunhāta Pariveṇa; Dīghacaṅka-mana; Phallagga Pariveṇa; Therāpassaya Pariveṇa; Marugana Pariveṇa; Dīghasandasenaṇāpati or Dīghāsana Pariveṇa, with 8 great pillars; Jantāghara, a bath with a room for hot baths, to south of the Bodhi Tree; Ransimālaka, a space south of Jantāghara; a Sālakā House, restored by Sirisaṃghabodhi (247-249) and Udaya I (797-801);²⁷

22. M. 33. 87; M.T. 447.

23. M. 39. 32.

24. M. 48. 142.

25. E.Z. I. 228.

26. M. 26. 13-20: 32. 26: 35. 121: 36. 33-37, 107: 39. 49-55: 44. 149: 52. 45. 46: 54. 40. 41: 78. 98; Puj. 16; E.Z. I. 51, 228: II. 83.

27. D. 22. 55-57. M. 15. 204-213: 36. 74: 38. 16: 49. 14; Puj. 11.

- (b) The Shrine of the Guardian God of the City, existing in B.C. 161;²⁸
- (c) Nivatta Cetiya, near the Kadamba river, on the way from the Nandana Park to *Mihintale*, at the point where Mahinda turned back, built in the 3rd or early 2nd B.C.;²⁹
- (d) Elāra thūpa, built in B.C. 161 over the site where Elāra fell in battle and was cremated: it was outside the south gate of the Citadel and the site is within the grounds of the modern Hospital;³⁰
- (e) Kaṭṭhahāla Pariveṇa existing in B.C. 155;³¹
- (f) The Jalaka or Lañjakāsana Hall built by Lañjatissa (B.C. 119-110);³²
- (g) The Subharāja row of cells, built by Subha (60-67);³³
- (h) A Bathing Tank built by Tissa (B.C. 51);³⁴
- (i) A row of cells facing west built by Vasabha (67-111);³⁵
- (j) A Wall round the Mahāvihāra was built by Bhāṭikatissa (143-167);³⁶
- (k) The Kukkuṭagiri cells were built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) on territory belonging to the Mahāvihāra and were donated to Abhayagiri Vihāra. Mahāsena (275-301) restored them. An inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) says that the Maṅgul Piriveṇa was situated in the Kukkuṭagiri row of Piriveṇas and that to it was attached the Vādārā Piriveṇa;³⁷
- (l) 12 great, 4-sided Pāsādas were built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186);³⁸
- (m) The Puttabhāga Vihāra was in existence in the reign of Vohārika Tissa (209-231) and was on the way from the south gate of the Citadel to the Tissa tank;³⁹
- (n) Hatthapaṇṇika or Sattapaṇṇaka Pāsāda was built by Vohārika Tissa (209-231);⁴⁰

28. *M.* 25. 87.29. *M.* 15. 10.30. *M.* 25. 72-74; *M.T.* 351. 24-27.31. *M.* 30. 34, 35; 51. 73.32. *D.* 19. 13; *M.* 33. 24.33. *M.* 35. 37.34. *M.* 15. 30; 34. 23.35. *M.* 35. 88.36. *M.* 36. 2.37. *M.* 36. 10; 37. 15; *E.Z.* I. 206.38. *M.* 36. 11.39. *M.* 36. 36; 37. 113.40. *D.* 22. 45; *M.* 36. 32.

- (o) Two Pavilions were built, one of stone, by Gothābhaya (249-263) who also laid out a tract of land for meditation exercises to west of the Mahāvihāra;⁴¹
- (p) Mora or Mayūra Pariveṇa or Monarapāya, a Pāsāda 25 cubits high, was built by Buddhadāsa (337-365). It was dismantled and replaced by a Pāsāda 21 cubits high by Dhātusena (455-473) and was renovated by Mahānāga (569-571);⁴²
- (q) The Ganthākara Pariveṇa which 'lay far from all unquiet intercourse' was the abode of the renowned scholar Buddhaghosa in the 5th century. Kassapa V (914-923) restored it;⁴³
- (r) The Saṃghasena Dwelling House with large revenues was built by Sena I (833-853);⁴⁴
- (s) The Senāpati Kuṭṭhaka (Kuṭṭhā) of Sena II (853-887) built the Senasenāpati Pariveṇa or Sen-Senevirad Piriveṇa in the Mahāvihāra with great revenues;⁴⁵
- (t) The Samuddagiri Pariveṇa, a splendid structure, was built for the Paṃsukūlins by the general of Kassapa IV (898-914);⁴⁶
- (u) The Mahālekhaṇapabbata House was built by the Chief Scribe, Sena, of Kassapa IV (898-914);⁴⁷
- (v) The Meditation Hall (piyangala) named Bahadurasen in the Mahāvihāra existed in the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914);⁴⁸
- (w) The Sakkasenāpati Pariveṇa was built in the reign of Kassapa V (914-923). An inscription of this king refers to the Kasub-Senevirad-Piriveṇa in the Mahāvihāra built by Sak-Senevi-Saṅgalnāvan;⁴⁹
- (x) The Vajirā Pariveṇa was built in the reign of Kassapa V (914-923).⁵⁰

(C). The Citadel or Inner City

Paṇḍukābhaya's lay-out of the town of Anurādhapura in the 4th century B.C. included a walled Citadel or Inner City with gates on the cardinal faces. Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (B.C. 44-22) raised the

41. *M.* 36. 21, 102, 105.42. *M.* 37. 172; 38. 52; 41. 100; *Puj.* 25.43. *M.* 37. 243; 52. 57.44. *M.* 50. 70.45. *M.* 51. 88; *E.Z.* I. 169, 175.46. *M.* 52. 51.47. *M.* 52. 33.48. *M.* 50. 82; *E.Z.* III. 105.49. *M.* 52. 61; *E.Z.* II. 43.50. *M.* 52. 62.

Citadel walls to a height of 7 cubits (10½ feet) and made a moat round them. Vasabha (67-111) increased the height of the walls to 18 cubits (27 feet) and built towers at the 4 gates. The later Sinhalese Chronicles state that the rampart was 4 yodun square and 16 yodun long, but these were exaggerations of a period when Anurādhapura had long lay in ruins: its actual dimensions, as the surviving remains indicate, were ¾ mile from north to south and a little over ½ mile from east to west, and it enclosed an area of about 250 acres. Within the Citadel were:—

(i) THE ROYAL PALACE. The first royal dwelling was the residence of the Sakka prince, Anurādhā, in the 5th century B.C. Paṇḍukābhaya took it over as his Palace and this building, doubtless improved and extended, was used as the king's Palace up to B.C. 44. (Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) had a royal dwelling in the Mahāmeghavana: it had a picula (S. pulila) tree standing on the south side of it and at its gateway was afterwards planted the Bodhi Tree: it was donated to Mahinda together with the Mahāmeghavana). Kuṭakanna Tissa (B.C. 44-22) built a new Palace close to the former one and laid out the Padumassara Park in the Palace grounds. Vasabhā (67-111) embellished the Palace and built a tank in the grounds for rearing geese. Gothābhaya (249-263) rebuilt the Palace and erected a Pavilion at its entrance. Sirimeghavaṇṇa built a shrine at the south-east corner of the Palace to house a golden, life-size Image of Mahinda and Images of Mahinda's companions, and he decreed an annual celebration in their honour which was observed up to the 11th century. Upatissa I (365-406) built an Uposatha House at the south-west corner of the Palace as well as an Image House for an Image of the Buddha, and a pleasant garden surrounded by a wall. In the reign of Dāthopatisa I (639-650) the Palace was sacked and burnt. It was rebuilt again but was once more pillaged and destroyed by the Pāṇḍyans in 840. Kassapa V (914-923) built the Kassapa Royal Palace in the Royal enclosure, as well as the Pālika-pāsāda in the same grounds. Sena III (938-946) made a costly flower-house in the Palace. The Palace was sacked and destroyed by the Cōlas in the last decade of the 10th century and was not rebuilt thereafter. Its ruins have not yet been excavated. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) built a Palace for himself in the Citadel but the building was an unpretentious one and he resided in it for a few months.⁵¹

(ii) THE MAHĀPĀLI or Royal Alms Hall. This building, was adjacent to the palace and here alms were distributed daily at the king's expense. Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) built the first Mahāpāli. It was enlarged, restored or rebuilt by later kings, namely, Upatissa I (365-406); Mahānāga (406-428); Aggabodhi I (571-604) who installed a 'boat' of bronze; Aggabodhi II (604-614)

who also set up a 'boat' for gifts of rice; Silāmeghavaṇṇa (619-628); Aggabodhi IV (667-683); Dappula II (815-831); Udaya II (887-898); and Mahinda IV (956-972) who rebuilt it after its destruction by the Cōlas. In inscriptions of the last quarter of the 10th century, it is called Mahapeḷa and Purimālā Mahapeḷa: one inscription records that the stone boat (gal-nāva) was the gift of Salavaḍunā. The ruins of the Mahāpāli have been excavated and conserved.⁵²

(iii) THE DAḶA-DĀ-GĒ or Daḷdāgē or Tooth Relic Temple. Devānaṃpiya Tissa built the shrine named Dhammacakka within the Citadel. When the Tooth Relic was brought to Laṅka in the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328) the king housed it in the Dhammacakka which, thereafter, became the Daḷa-Dā-Gē. The decorative work on its exterior walls included the figure of a life-sized elephant in stucco. Dhātusena (455-473) restored the building and had fine stucco work put in. Aggabodhi I (571-604) decorated the Temple with jewels. In the reign of Dāthopatisa I (639-650) the Temple was burnt down. It was rebuilt but was again destroyed by the Cōlas in the reign of Udaya IV (946-954). Mahinda IV (956-972) rebuilt it: one of his inscriptions *in situ* names and identifies the Daḷa-Dā-Gē.⁵³

(iv) THE CONVENTS. Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) built the Upāsikā Convent for bhikkhuṇis and Saṃghamitta dwelt there for a time. In it were 12 buildings, in three of which were housed the mast, rudder and helm of the ship which brought the Bodhi Tree. A short distance away, Devānaṃpiya Tissa built a thūpa and a thūpaghara: Saṃghamitta selected this site for a Convent for herself, and the king accordingly built one and it was called the Hatthāḷhaka Nunnery. When Kuṭakanna Tissa (B.C. 44-22) and Vasabha (67-111) altered the walls of the Citadel, a part of the Hatthāḷhaka Nunnery came to be outside the walls. Neither the Upāsikā nor the Hatthāḷhaka Nunnery is mentioned again, but other Convents are named, some of them specifically as within the Citadel. It may be that some of these later Convents were additions to or restorations of the two original Convents. They were:—

- (a) Dantegeha Convent, built by Kuṭakanna Tissa (B.C. 44-22) on land owned by the royal family: he built also a bath for the bhikkhuṇis;
- (b) The Abhaya and Uttara Convents were built by Mahāsena (275-301): it is likely that these were in the Abhayagiri Entourage;

51. D. 20. 33, 34; M. 9. 11: 10. 73-75, 85, 90: 15. 27, 32-35: 34. 33, 34, 65: 35. 96, 97: 36. 99: 37. 86-90, 200-201: 44. 134: 50. 33: 52. 66: 53: 53. 35: 55. 19-22; *Puj.* 21.

52. D. 17. 92; M. 20. 23: 37. 211: 42. 33, 67: 44. 65: 46. 3: 49. 78: 51. 132: 54. 45; *E.Z.* I. 228: III. 133.

53. M. 37. 92-97: 38. 8, 70, 72: 42. 33: 44. 134: 54. 45; *E.Z.* I. 120; *A.S.M.* III, 14.

- (c) The Rājini shelter for nuns was built by Moggallāna I (491-508);
- (d) The Silāmegha Home for bhikkhūṇis, in which Mahinda II (777-797) placed a Bodhisatta Image of silver. Udaya I (797-801) restored it;
- (e) Mahindārāma Convent built by Mahinda I (730-733): one boundary of it was Nagaragalla. It is mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) as the Mihind-aram Nunnery standing on the Maṅgul-maha-veya of the Inner City (Citadel);
- (f) Tissārāma Convent built in the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914): its Nuns were specially entrusted with the care of the Bodhi Tree at Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra. An inscription of Kassapa V (918) refers to the building of the Tisaram Nunnery on the Maṅgul-maha-veya by the general Sen;
- (g) The Nālaram Nunnery was founded by the Chief Secretary, Sena, of Kassapa IV (898-914);
- (h) The Mahāmallaka Convent, as well as a Mahapeḷa (Mahāpāli) for bhikkhūṇis, was built by Mahinda IV (956-972).⁵⁴
- (v) The House for the book Dhammadhātu which was brought here in the reign of Silākāla (518-531) was in the Citadel.⁵⁵
- (vi) HOSPITALS and Medical Halls. Hospitals and Medical Halls were built :—
 - (a) by Sen Senevirad on the opposite side of the road (Maṅgul-maha-veya) to the Mihindaram Nunnery in 909;
 - (b) on the Maṅgul-maha-veya and near the south gate in 917.⁵⁶
- (vii) THE DHAMMASAṅGAṆĪ HOUSE or Damsaṅguṇugē or Dahamsaṅguṇugē was built by Kassapa V (914-923) to house the sacred book of that name. The Cōlas destroyed the building in 948 and Mahinda IV (956-972) rebuilt it.⁵⁷

(D). The Abhayagiri Vihāra Entourage

The Abhayagiri Vihāra (also known as Uttara, Abhayauttara, Abhayaturā, Abāgiri, Abagiri-mahavihara, Apahayagara, Abahayagiri and Bagirivehera) was founded in March, B.C. 89, by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya who demolished a Nigaṇṭha (Jain) shrine called

54. *M.* 19. 68-71, 77-84 : 20. 21, 22 : 34. 36 : 35. 96, 97 : 37. 43 : 39. 43 : 48. 36, 139 : 49. 25 : 52. 24 : 54. 47 ; *M.T.* 411, 13 ; *E.Z.* I. 228 : II. 25, 38.

55. *M.* 41. 37-40.

56. *M.* 52. 57 ; *E.Z.* I. 51 : II. 25.

57. *M.* 52. 50 : 54. 45 ; *E.Z.* I. 228 : III. 133, 137.

Titthārāma, built by Paṇḍukābhaya in the 4th century B.C., and erected, on its site, a Vihāra of 12 cells; Abhayagiri is a combination of the king's name, Abhaya, with that of the Jain ascetic, Giri, who lived in the Titthārāma. Not long after its foundation Abhayagiri Vihāra became the seat of the heterodox, Mahāyāna doctrines and consequently came into conflict and rivalry with the orthodox Mahāvihāra. It had its triumphs and its reverses. Its greatest triumph was in the reign of Mahāsena (275-301) when the beautiful temples of the Mahāvihāra were, on the king's orders, dismantled and re-erected at Abhayagiri which 'became rich in buildings and was made stately to see'. Fa-Hsien (411-413) says that there were 5,000 monks in residence at Abhayagiri in his time: he describes the thūpa, the beautiful Image of the Buddha, and the annual procession of the Tooth Relic from the Palace to the Vihāra. In the 5th century, Cetiyaṭṭhā Vihāra (*Mihintalē*) passed into the control of Abhayagiri Vihāra. Another serious controversy between Abhayagiri Vihāra and the Mahāvihāra in the 6th century resulted in the vindication of the Mahāvihāra. In the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries there was little friction between the two great monastic establishments, and the kings appear to have bestowed their gifts fairly evenly between the two. The Abhayagiri entourage comprised :—

- (i) THE THŪPA. Dr. Paranavitana renders D 19.17 as follows, 'He established the Abhayagiri (monastery and) the Silāthūpa which is within (its) Cetiya' and adds 'what the text connotes is that Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77) built the Silācetiya which forms the core of the Abhayagiri Dāgāba, the huge pile built enclosing this being the work of later hands'. (Padalañchana at Anurādhapura, by S. Paranavitana). Gajabāhu I (114-136) enlarged the Thūpa and built Ādimukha (Vestibules) to the 4 gateways. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) built the Vāhalkaḍas and made grants to Utaramaha-ceta. Vohārika Tissa (209-231) renovated the umbrella. Fa-Hsien (411-413) says the Thūpa was 400 feet high and decorated with gold and silver. Mittasena (428) made a gateway (torāṇa) through the Elephant wall. Dhātusena (455-473) restored and gilded the umbrella, affixed around it a ring of crystal in which was embedded a great precious stone, and added decorative stucco work. Mahānāga (569-571) built the hatthivedi (railing ornamented with elephant heads) and renovated the ring of crystal, the stucco work and the paintings. Aggabodhi I (571-604) set up a golden, bejewelled, umbrella-shaped spire. Moggallāna III (614-619) repaired the Thūpa, and so did Kassapa IV (898-914). Sena III (938-946) made at great cost a stone paving round the Thūpa. Mahinda IV (956-972)

renewed the brickwork at Abayaturā-maha-sā. Following neglect and partial collapse during and after the Cōla conquest, Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the Thūpa to a height of 160 cubits (240 feet).⁵⁸

- (ii) SOMĀRĀMA or Maṇisomārāma monastery was built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77) in honour of his Queen, Somadevi. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) added to it a great Pariveṇa as well as a thūpaghara (Vaṭa-dā-gē). Goṭhābhaya (249-263) restored the thūpaghara and the Uposatha House.⁵⁹
- (iii) The Subharāja cells were built by Subha (60-67).⁶⁰
- (iv) The RATANAPĀSĀDA, the Uposatha House of the Abhayagiri Vihāra (corresponding to the Lohapāsāda of the Mahāvihāra) was built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186). Mahinda II (777-797) rebuilt it on a splendid scale, 'many-storeyed, like unto a heavenly mansion': in it he housed a golden Image of the Buddha. This Image and other treasures were carried away by the conquering Pāṇḍyans in the reign of Sena I (833-853), but they were recovered and replaced by Sena II (853-887). In inscriptions of Kassapa V (913-923) and of Mahinda IV (956-972) the building is called Ruvan-maha-pahā.⁶¹
- (v) Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) built a wall and a large Pariveṇa.⁶²
- (vi) A Pavilion was built by Vohārika Tissa (209-231).⁶³
- (vii) THE IMAGE HOUSE was built by Mahāsena (275-301) who installed within it a large, stone Image of the Buddha which had originally been set up in Thūpārāma and was later removed to Pācinatissapabbata Vihāra. It was probably this Image of which Fa-Hsien (411-413) makes special mention. Dhātusena (455-473) made a Shrine for the Image, put in two precious stones as eyes, dressed the hair with blue gems and made a diadem of rays and a golden garment. Silāmeghavaṇṇa (619-628)

58. *D.* 19. 14, 17 : 22. 13, 39, 40 ; *M.* 33. 42, 44, 80-86, 95-98 : 35. 119, 120 : 36. 33, 34 : 37. 3-16 : 38. 10, 54, 74 : 41. 95 : 42. 31 : 44. 44 : 53. 33 : 78. 98 ; *N.S.* 11-16 ; *Puj.* 31, 34 ; *E.Z.* I. 98, 225, 226, 238, 239, 256 : II. 19 : IV. 141, 282.

59. *M.* 33. 84-86 : 36. 8, 9, 107.

60. *M.* 35. 37.

61. *D.* 22. 23 ; *M.* 36. 7 : 48. 135-138 : 50. 34 : 51. 40, 41, 49 ; *E.Z.* I. 55, 226 239.

62. *M.* 36. 8.

63. *M.* 36. 31.

restored the Image House. In the reign of Sena I (833-853) the Pāṇḍyans carried away the precious stones in the eyes of the Image. Sena II (853-887) restored the Image House, and his Queen placed a dark-blue, jewel diadem on the Image. The Maha Pilimage at Abhayagiri Vihāra is mentioned in two inscriptions of the 10th century. Mahinda IV (956-972) caused the eyes of the auspicious, colossal, stone Image to be set with sapphires: he also set the great stone statue of Mahinda with rubies and made a network of gold for its feet. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the Image House.⁶⁴

- (viii) THE BODHI TREE TEMPLE was built by Mahāsena (275-301). Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301-328) built a stone terrace and a wall round the Bodhi Tree. Silākāla (518-631) set up beside the Bodhi Tree the Kunta throne which he brought away from Jetavanārāma. The Maha-Bo-Ge is mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa V (914-923). Mahinda IV (956-972) repaired it.⁶⁵
- (ix) Mahāsena (275-301) also built a Relic Hall and a 4-sided Hall.⁶⁶
- (x) Aggabodhi I (571-604) built a large Bathing Tank.⁶⁷
- (xi) The Dāṭhāggabodhi House and the Kapālanāga Vihāra were built in the reign of Aggabodhi II (604-614).⁶⁸
- (xii) THE KAPPŪRA or Kapārā Pariveṇa was built by Dāthopatisa II (659-667). Aggabodhi IV (667-683) added a Pāsāda and Sena I (833-853) built a cell. Inscriptions of the 10th century refer to Maha-Kapārā and Kuḍā-kapārā Piriven and to the Kapārāmuḷa fraternity at Abhayagiri Vihāra. Kassapa V (914-923) built for them the Silāmeghapabbata or Salameyvanpavu Vihāra. The Pubbārāma or Purvaram Vihāra belonged to the Kapārā fraternity. An inscription of Mahinda V (982-993) names the Kapārā-ārāma and identifies the site. The daughter of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) built a massive Image House in the Kappūramūlā Vihāra.⁶⁹

64. *M.* 37. 14, 15 : 38. 61-64 : 44. 68 : 50. 34 : 51. 77, 87 ; *Puj.* 34 ; *E.Z.* I. 55, 227 : II. 19, 68.

65. *M.* 37. 15, 91 : 41. 32 : *E.Z.* I. 55, 239.

66. *M.* 37. 15.

67. *M.* 42. 28.

68. *M.* 42. 64, 65.

69. *M.* 45. 29 : 46. 21 : 50. 69, 77 : 52. 58 : 60. 83 ; *Puj.* 29, 31 ; *E.Z.* I. 52, 57, 109, 188 : V. 169.

- (xiii) Tiputthulla Vihāra was built on Mahāvihāra territory and granted to Abhayagiri by Dāṭhapatissa II (659-667).⁷⁰
- (xiv) UTTAROMŪḶA or Uttarālha or Uturaḷamula Pariveṇa was a superb building erected by Mānavamma (684-718).⁷¹ Sena I (833-853) added a cell and Sena II (853-887) a Pāsāda. In Uttarālha was the Maṅgala or Maṅgul Pariveṇa which Mahinda IV (956-972) rebuilt. In the Vēlaikkāra inscription of the 12th century at Polonnaruwa, the Uttoruḷamūḷa shrine is described as 'the chief fane of Abhayagiri Mahāvihāra and the original depository of the Tooth and Bowl Relics'. Fa-Hsien (411-413) says that the Tooth Relic was taken every year to Abhayagiri and that the ceremonies continued there for 90 days : but the Relic House in his time could not have been Uttoruḷamūḷa.⁷²
- (xv) Sabhattudesabhoga was built by Aggabodhi VI (733-772).⁷³
- (xvi) Mahinda II (777-797) built Mahālekha Pariveṇa.⁷⁴
- (xvii) In the reign of Sena I (833-853) the following five dwellings were built :—(a) Virāṅkurārāma or Virāṅkura monastery, allied to Mulaso Vihāra ; (b) Mahindasena, (c) Uttarasena ; (d) Vajirasenaka ; and (e) Rakkhasa.⁷⁵
- (xviii) Saṃghasenapabbata or Satsen or Saṅgsana Piriveṇa or Saṅgsen-aram was built in the reign of Sena II (853-887) and was restored by Kassapa V (914-923).⁷⁶
- (xix) Kassapa Pāsāda or Kasub-rad-maha-pahā was built by Kassapa IV (898-914). Mahinda IV (956-972) repaired its roof, 35 cubits (52 feet) long.⁷⁷
- (xx) Kassapa V (914-923) built Bhaṇḍikā Pariveṇa and Silāmeghapabbata.⁷⁸
- (xxi) The Piyangal Monastery was allied to Abhayagiri and probably in it.⁷⁹

70. *M.* 45. 29, 30.

71, 72. *M.* 50. 77 : 51. 75 : 57. 20 ; *Puj.* 30 ; *E.Z.* I. 238 : II. 254.

73. *M.* 48. 64.

74. *M.* 48. 135.

75. *M.* 50. 68, 79, 83, 84 ; *N.S.* 18 ; *E.Z.* I. 28.

76. *M.* 51. 86, 87 ; *Puj.* 31 ; *E.Z.* I. 51, 190.

77. *M.* 52. 13 ; *E.Z.* I. 227.

78. *M.* 52. 58.

79. *Puj.* 29 ; *E.Z.* I. 53, 108.

- (xxii) The Bat-Gē or Refectory is mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa V (914-923). The smaller stone 'boat' here bears an inscription of the late 8th or early 9th century and the 'boat' is called gal-nāva.⁸⁰
- (xxiii) The general of Kassapa IV (898-914) built the Dhammārāma.⁸¹
- (xxiv) Udā-Kitagbo-pavu (or Udayakittiaggabodhipabbata, present *Puliyankulam* ruins) was built by the Mahādipāda Udaya of Dappula V (924-935) and was a branch of Purvaram-vehera (Pubbārāma) of the Kapārā fraternity.⁸²
- (xxv) The Pusarbā-pahā was built by Mahinda IV (956-972).⁸³

(E). The Jetavanārāma Entourage

The Jetavana Vihāra, also called Denānaka or Denā Vihāra in Sinhalese inscriptions and literature, was founded by Mahāsena (275-301) in the Jotivana Park on territory within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra. The king built it for the Mahāthēra of Dakkhīṇa Vihāra. The Jetavanārāma monks were of the Sāgaliya sect which first established itself at Dakkhīṇa Vihāra in the year 253. Thus were created three important monastic establishments (Abhayagiri, Dakkhīṇa Vihāra and Jetavanārāma) in opposition to the orthodox Mahāvihāra. Sirimeghavāṇṇa (301-328) completed the work of construction which Mahāsena had begun. In the Jetavanārāma entourage were :—

(i) JETAVANA THŪPA, built by Mahāsena (275-301) : it was 400 feet high and the largest thūpa at Anurādhapura. Mittasena (428) made a gateway (torāṇa) through the Elephant wall. Dhātusena (455-473) restored and gilded the umbrella, fitted round it a ring of crystal in which was embedded a large gem, and put in fine stucco work. Mahānāga (569-571) built the hatthivedī (railing ornamented with elephant heads) and repaired the ring of crystal, the stucco work and the paintings. Aggabodhi I (571-604) placed a golden, bejewelled umbrella on the thūpa. Moggallāna III (614-619) renovated the thūpa. Further repairs were carried out in the last quarter of the 10th century. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the thūpa to a height of 140 cubits (210 feet).⁸⁴

80. *E.Z.* I. 55 : IV. 150.

81. *M.* 52. 17.

82. *E.Z.* I. 188.

83. *E.Z.* I. 227.

84. *M.* 37. 32-39, 65 : 38. 10, 54, 74 : 41. 95 : 42. 31 : 44. 44 : 78. 98 ; *N.S.* 13, 15, 15 ; *Puj.* 24, 34 ; *E.Z.* III. 133.

(ii) Aggabodhi II (604-614) constructed a building with a glittering spire.⁸⁵

(iii) THE MAHĀ PARIVEṆA or Ratna-mā-piriveṇa was probably built by Mahāsena (275-301), the founder of the Vihāra. Aggabodhi VI (733-772) added a Pāsāda to it. Sena I (833-853) rebuilt the Pāsāda after it had been destroyed by fire. In an inscription of Mahinda VI (956-972) at the so-called 'Buddhist Railing' ruins, are mentioned the Water Pavilion at the Gate, the Ratna-mā-piriveṇa and the Senevirad college in Denā Rajamahavehera.⁸⁶

(iv) The Sirisaṃghabodhi Pariveṇa, called Siri-Saṅgho-Rad-Piriveṇa in Denā vehera in an inscription of Dappula V (924-935), was built by the Damiḷa Senāpati of Aggabodhi IV (667-683).⁸⁷

(v) The Bodhi Tree Temple was presented with a golden Image of the Buddha by Dappula II (815-831).⁸⁸

(vi) THE MAṆIMEKHALA or Miṇimevulā Pāsāda or Maṇipāsāda or Miṇipā was built by Sena I (833-853) who installed a gold Image of the Buddha in it. Sena II (853-887) added Images of Bodhi-sattas. In the reign of Udaya IV (946-954) the Cōlas destroyed the building and the king partly rebuilt it. Mahinda IV (956-972) restored it.⁸⁹

(vii) Kassapasena Vihāra was built by the general of Kassapa IV (898-914).⁹⁰

(viii) The Diyasen Uposatha House was renovated by Mahinda IV (956-972).⁹¹

(ix) Four officials of Mahinda IV (956-972) built 4 Pariveṇas.⁹²

(F). The Southern Area

(i) DAKKHIṆA VIHĀRA was founded by a Minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77). The Mahāvamsa says, 'One of the 7 warriors of the king, Uttiya, built, to the south of the City, the so-called Dakkhina Vihāra. In the same place the Minister named Mūla built the Mūlavokāsa Vihāra, which was, therefore, called after him'. In a series of 2nd or 3rd century inscriptions *in situ* the thūpa is named Tisa-maha-ceta in Dakiṇi Vihara: in another inscription of the same

period the Vihāra is styled Dakiṇi-Abaya-araba-vihara. Dr. Paranavitana is of opinion that the thūpa was built over the cremation site of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya who died in B.C. 137. Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) added a mantling to the thūpa, and Vohārika Tissa (209-231) restored the umbrella. Dakkhina Vihāra became the seat of the Sāgaliya sect, a body which separated from the Dhammaruci sect at Abhayagiri Vihāra and went to Dakkhina Vihāra in the 4th year (253) of Goṭhābhaya: afterwards this sect overran Jetavanārāma. Dāṭhopatissa I (639-650) broke open the thūpa and despoiled it of its treasures. Dakkhina Vihāra allied itself with Abhayagiri and Jetavanārāma against the orthodox Mahāvihāra. In the Vihāra were, besides the thūpa:—

(a) the Uposatha House built, presumably, when the Vihāra was founded: Goṭhābhaya (248-263) restored it;

(b) a Refectory built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) together with a road leading to it: in the course of the work, Mahāvihāra territory was encroached upon and part of the boundary wall of the Mahāvihāra was moved;

(c) a Wall round the Vihāra was built by Vohārika Tissa (209-231);

(d) a Pāsāda was built by Aggabodhi I (571-604);

(e) the Digama-parivana in Dakana Vihara is mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Dāṭhopatissa I (639-650).⁹³

(ii) Meghagiri Vihāra or Meygiri Vihāra (present *Isurumuniya*) was in the Mahāmeghavana and was the first repository of the Tooth Relic: it was situated between Dakkhina thūpa and the eastern gate of the Magul Uyana, and was a place where rain-making ceremonies were carried out.⁹⁴

(iii) ISSARASAMAṆA Vihāra (present *Vessagiriya*) was founded by Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) at the place where 500 disciples under the prince Ariṭṭha dwelt after their conversion by Mahinda. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree was planted there. In inscriptions of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries *in situ* the site is named Isiramana Vihara. Vasabha (67-111) built the Uposatha House, and Vohārika Tissa (209-231) built a wall. Kassapa I of Sigiri (473-491) enlarged the Vihāra, endowed it and re-named it, after his two daughters and himself, Bodhi-Uppallavaṇṇa-Kassapagiri Vihāra: this is confirmed by inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries *in situ* in which the Vihāra is named Boya-Opulavana-Kasabagiri Vihara. Hereafter the Chronicle refers to the Vihāra as Kassapagiri Vihāra. Jeṭṭhatissa III (628) and Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667) endowed the Vihāra.

85. M. 42. 66.

86. M. 48. 65 : 50. 67 ; E.Z. III. 228, 229.

87. M. 46. 22, 23 ; E.Z. II. 48.

88. M. 49. 77.

89. M. 50. 65, 66 : 51. 77 : 53. 52 : 54. 48 ; Puj. 31 ; E.Z. I. 227.

90. M. 52. 17 ; E.Z. II. 40.

91. E.Z. I. 227.

92. M. 54. 55.

93. D. 19. 19 : 22. 24, 58 ; M. 33. 88, 98 : 35. 5 : 36. 12, 13, 33-37, 107 : 42. 14 : 44. 140 ; N.S. 13, 15, 16 ; E.Z. V. 69.

94. Artibus Asiae, XVI, No. 3, 167.

Mahinda IV (956-972) built the Mahā-pāsāda : an inscription of this king includes a decision on the claim of Isurameṇu-Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri Vihāra to the water-rights of the Tissa tank.⁹⁵

(iv) TISSAVĀPI (present *Tissavāva*) was constructed by Devānāmpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207). Dhātusena (455-473) built Kālāvāpi (*Kālāvāva*) and conducted water from it along the artificial canal Jaya Gaṅgā (present *Yōda-ālā*), 54 miles long, to Tissavāpi at Anurādhapura. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the Jaya Gaṅgā. In an inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) regulations were set out for the distribution of the water-supply of Tissa tank: the water from the Moholnaṅga royal sluice was to be used for the Royal Park, and the monks of Issarasamaṇa Vihāra were not to be made to lose by the release of water through the Kolomb canal which flowed northwards.⁹⁶

(v) MAGUL UYANA or Royal Park was below the bund of Tissavāpi and was also known as the Ran-masu-uyana or 'Goldfish' Park. The site, with its pokuṇas and rocks, has been attractively conserved.⁹⁷

(vi) Helloligāma or Hellola or Helloliya was a Caṇḍāla village situated between Dakkhina Vihāra and Issarasamaṇa Vihāra.⁹⁸

(G). The Western Area

(i) TAPOVANA was the area in which the ruins of the *Western monasteries* are situated. Prior to the reign of Mānavamma (684-718) there is no reference in the Chronicles to the ascetics called Paṃsukūlins. Paṃsukūla means a collection of rags, and a Paṃsukūlin was, therefore, one who wore garments made of rags patched together. Mānavamma built a Pāsāda for the Paṃsukūlins in the Thūpārāma. In 871, in the reign of Sena II, the Paṃsukūlika bhikkhus in the Abhayagiri Vihāra separated and formed special groups. The Tapovana is first mentioned in the reign of Kassapa IV (898-914) : the king built a dwelling there for the Paṃsukūlins. Kassapa V (914-923) built the Devā dwelling in the Tapovana. The Tapovana was also known as 'the Grove of the Penitents'. In the reign of Udaya III (946-954) some officials of the Court, through fear of the king, sought sanctuary in the monasteries of the Tapovana, and, on the king's orders, they were pursued, seized and executed there. The Paṃsukūlins abandoned their temples in protest and the populace rose in rebellion,

95. D. 17. 91 : 22. 2, M. 19. 61 : 20. 14, 20 : 35. 47, 48, 87 : 36. 36 : 39. 10-13 : 44. 98 : 45. 27 : 48. 25 ; E.Z. I. 35, 39, 228 : IV. 132, 133 ; C.J.S. (G) II. 27, 28, 182, 200, 201.

96. M. 20. 20 : 38. 42 : 79. 58 : E.Z. I. 36.

97. E.Z. I. 36 ; J.R.A.S. (C.B.), XXXVI.

98. J.R.A.S. (C.B.), XXXVI. 7.

compelling the king to seek out the Paṃsukūlins and obtain their pardon.⁹⁹

(ii) Sena I (833-853) built a Hall for the sick in the western part of the City.¹⁰⁰

(H) The Eastern Area

(i) Paṭhama Cetiya was built by Devānāmpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) by the east gate of the Citadel. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree was planted there.¹⁰¹

(ii) Pācīnatissapabbata Vihāra was built by Jetṭhatissa I (263-275). To it he removed a stone Image of the Buddha which was in Thūpārāma : Mahāsena (275-301) transferred this Image to Abhayagiri Vihāra. A 6th century inscription *in situ* names the site Pajinatisapavata.¹⁰²

(iii) Mahāsena (275-301) built a thūpa at the place of the Yakkha Kāvela which was in the eastern part of the City.¹⁰³

(iv) Sotthiyākara Vihāra was built by Sirimeghavanna (301-328) near the east gate.¹⁰⁴

(v) There was a guild named Mahatabaka in the eastern part of the City in the 5th century.¹⁰⁵

(vi) Sūratissa (circa B.C. 200) built Goṇṇagiri Vihāra in the eastern quarter of the City. An inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136) mentions Goṇṇagiri in the City.¹⁰⁶

(vii) An inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136) mentions Nakaravavi, present *Nuvara-vāva*.¹⁰⁷

(I). Unlocated Buildings

(i) The Chattapāsāda, a beautiful building, existed in the reign of Bhātikabhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7).¹⁰⁸

(ii) Gajabāhu I (114-136) built the Mahejāsanasāla.¹⁰⁹

(iii) Meghavannābhaya Vihāra was built by Goṭṭābhaya (249-263).¹¹⁰

99. M. 47. 66 : 51. 52 : 52. 19, 21, 22, 64 : 53. 14-26.

100. M. 50. 75.

101. M. 14. 45 : 19. 6 : 20. 20 : 38. 9.

102. M. 36. 128, 129 : 37. 14 : 41. 14 : 44. 15 ; D. 22. 64.

103. M. 10. 84 : 37. 44.

104. M. 37. 81.

105. E.Z. III. 250.

106. M. 21. 5 ; E.Z. III. 116.

107. E.Z. III. 116.

108. M. 34. 65.

109. M. 35. 122.

110. M. 36. 108, 109.

(iv) North of the Maṅgala Cetiya (which may be any one of the 4 great Cetiya or the Thūpārāma) Upatissa I (365-406) built a thūpa and an Image House. Dhātusena (455-473) added Bodhisatta figures to the Images in the Image House of the Bahumaṅgala Cetiya.¹¹¹

(v) There was a merchants' guild named Kaḷahumanaka or Kaḷamahanaka in the northern part of the City in the 4th century.¹¹²

(vi) Moggallāna I (491-508) built Pabbata Vihāra and granted it to Mahānāma Thera who lived in the Dīghāsana dwelling in the Mahāvihāra.¹¹³

(vii) The Uttara Practising House was built by the Senāpati Uttara of Moggallāna I.¹¹⁴

(viii) Aggabodhi VIII (804-815) built Udayaggabodhi Pariveṇa. Mahinda IV (956-972) repaired Udā-Agbo-piriveṇa.¹¹⁵

(ix) Aggabodhi VIII (804-815) built Bhūta Pariveṇa.¹¹⁶

(x) Sena I (833-853) completed the building of Kassaparājaka Vihāra. Kassapa V (914-923) restored Kasub-raj-mahavehera, and Mahinda IV (956-972) restored Kasub-rad-piriveṇa.¹¹⁷

(xi) Mahindasena Pariveṇa was built in the reign of Sena II (853-887). Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored a Pāsāda of this name.¹¹⁸

(xii) Mahinda IV (956-972) built an Alms Hall at Yaṭabāhila.¹¹⁹

(xiii) Mahinda IV (956-972) built the great Alms Hall Purimālā. (This may be identical with the Mahāpālī in the Citadel).¹²⁰

(xiv) Mahinda IV (956-972) installed a gold Image of the Buddha in Atulā Vihāra.¹²¹

(xv) Mahinda IV (956-972) endowed Kir-bimb vehera.¹²²

(xvi) Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Sepannipuppha Pāsāda.¹²³

(xvii) Nissaṅka Malla built an Alms Hall at Anurādhapura.¹²⁴

111. *M.* 37. 183 : 38. 65.

112. *E.Z.* III. 78 ; *A.S.* 7th Rep. 54.

113. *M.* 39. 42.

114. *M.* 39. 58.

115. *M.* 49. 45 ; *E.Z.* I. 227.

116. *M.* 49. 46.

117. *M.* 50. 81 : 52. 45 ; *E.Z.* I. 51, 227.

118. *M.* 51. 60 : 78. 106.

119. *E.Z.* I. 227.

120. *E.Z.* I. 228.

121. *E.Z.* I. 229.

122. *E.Z.* I. 229.

123. *M.* 47. 64 : 78. 105.

124. *E.Z.* II. 178.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ANURĀDHAPURA DISTRICT

The original kingdom of Anurādhapura extended over the entire northern and north-central plain and, in medieval times, it was described as Rājaraṭṭha, but whether this name was in use in the early period is not known. Later, Rājaraṭṭha became Patitṭhāraṭṭha (S. Pihiti-raṭa). The original kingdom was divided into four main divisions, named after the four cardinal directions, and this nomenclature persisted long after the whole of Ceylon had been united as one kingdom in B.C. 161. The four divisions were :—

- (i) Uttarapassa or Uttaradesa or Uttararaṭṭha (in inscriptions, Uturapasa, Uturpasa and Uturukarā), the northern division, which began about 10 miles north of Anurādhapura and extended to the north-west, north and north-east coasts ;
- (ii) Pacchimapassa or Pacchimadesa (in inscriptions, Paḍipasa or Pālapasa), the western division, extending over *Vilacciya* and *Vilpattu* to the western coast ;
- (iii) Puratthimadesa or Pācinadesa or Pubbadesa (in inscriptions, Pajinapasa or Pādumpasa), the eastern division, which included all the area from near *Mihintalē* eastward to the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* ; and
- (iv) Dakkhiṇadesa or Dakkhiṇapassa (in inscriptions, Dakuṇpasa), the southern division, extending in the 10th century to the *Kalu Gaṅga*.¹

The Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa districts are in the dry zone and are traversed by the large rivers, *Mahavāli Gaṅga* (which has a perennial flow), *Kalā Oya*, *Malvatta Oya*, and *Yān Oya*. The fullest use was made of these rivers and their tributaries to develop a vast and complex irrigation system, an ancient feat of engineering without parallel in India. This region was by far the most productive food-producing area in Ceylon. The terrain is not uniformly flat : several hill ranges, large and small, and numerous rock-outcrops rise from the plain.

(A). Nuvaragam Palāta

Uruvelā (spuriously called Mahavāligama in the Rājāvaliya); a port on the west coast, was founded, according to one tradition, by

1. *M.* 10. 20 : 21. 4, 6 : 35. 58, 59, 124 : 37. 42 : 38. 24 : 41. 33, 35 : 42. 8 : 44. 84, 88, 89 : 45. 21, 23, 77 : 47. 3 : 48. 33, 39, 41, 83, 95, 111, 112, 155 : 50. 14, 44, 49 : 51. 7, 12, 19 : 52. 1 : 58. 40, 42 : 59. 11, 18, 20 : 61. 21, 26, 33 : 70. 63 ; *E.Z.* I. 246 : II. 23, 42, 54 : III. 103, 139, 274 : IV. 64, 182, 184, 222 : *U.C.R.* IX, No. 1, 20.

a Minister of Vijaya, and, according to another, by a Sakka prince. It was 5 yojanas or 20 gav (40 to 50 miles) to west of Anurādhapura, and pearls are said to have been found there in the reign of Duṭṭha-gāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). Near Uruvelā, king Subha (60-67) founded Valli or Villa Vihāra, recently identified by an epigraph as a group of ruins close to the 21st mile on the *Puttalam-Mariccikaddai* track. Uruvelā was, therefore, at or very near the mouth of the *Kalā Oya*.²

At *Occāpu Kallu*, in the *Vilpattu National Park*, on the boundary between the *Puttalam* and *Anurādhapura* districts and about 2½ miles south of the *Mōderagam Āru*, there is an inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186) in which the site is named Kuba Vihera. Other place-names occurring in this inscription are:—(i) Jabo-aviya; (ii) Matuka-aviya; (iii) Talavaṇa-aviya; and (iv) Cudataka tank in *Veḷamitiya* in *Magaṇa-nakara*. *Magaṇa*, doubtless identical with Ptolemy's port of Margana, is mentioned in three other early inscriptions. The *Sigiri Graffiti* name *Magaṇava* and *Maguṇ*. The situation of the place was very probably at the mouth of the *Mōderagam Āru* where there are the remains of a buried city.³

At *Sināḍiyagala*, a rock about 1½ miles from the *Mōderagam Āru* in the *Vilpattu East Intermediate Zone*, there is an inscription of Vasabha (67-111) in which a grant is made of *Kaḷapahanaka* tank to the *Dakkhiṇa Vihāra* at *Anurādhapura*. This is identical with the *Kālāpāsāṇa* or *Kalavāṇa* tank ascribed to Mahāsenā who reigned over 150 years later. The *Kaḷapahanaka* tank is the large, breached reservoir now known as *Karambakulam*, below *Sināḍiyagala*.⁴

Mahallaka Nāga (136-143) founded *Dakapāsāṇa Vihāra* in the western part of *Rājaraṭṭha*.⁵

Vasabha (67-111) built *Cayanti* tank, also called *Mayanti* and *Māyetti*, in *Pacchimadesa*, the western quarter. *Jeṭṭhatissa* III (628) gave the village *Sahannanagara* to *Mayettikassapāvāsa Vihāra*, and *Aggabodhi* III (629-639) donated *Sālaggāma* to the same *Vihāra*. *Sāligāma* was a village near the west gate of *Anurādhapura*. *Udaya* II (887-898) enlarged the dam of *Mayetti* tank. *Codrington* proposes to identify *Mayetti* tank with one of the reservoirs, *Nāccaduwa* or *Ēruvāva*, but neither of these is in *Pacchimadesa*: more probably, *Mayetti* was one of the two large *Vilacciya* tanks, *Mahavilacciya* or *Kuḍāvilacciya*.⁶

2. *D.* 21. 47; *M.* 7. 45; 9. 9; 28. 36; 35. 58; *Puj.* 2; *Thv.* 163.

3. *A.I.C.* 20; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) No. 73, 55; *Codrington, Coins*, 193; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

4. *M.* 37. 49; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52; *A.S.C.A.R.* 1896, 7; *Codrington, Coins*, 193.

5. *M.* 35. 124.

6. *M.* 35. 93; 44. 90, 100, 122; 51. 130; *D.* 22. 7, 8; *E.M.* 35. 95; *M.T.* 953; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXXVI, 8.

Mahāsenā (275-301) built *Dhātūsenapabbata Vihāra* in *Pacchimadesa*. *Dhātusena* (455-473) built *Dhātusena-pabbata Vihāra* (there is a difference in spelling) in *Pāsānasinnadesa*, a district also in *Pacchimadesa*.⁷

The sub-division *Valapu-bim* in *Pālapāsa* is mentioned in an inscription of *Kassapa* IV (898-913) near *Mallimaḍu* (erroneously called *Kukurumahandamana* by Bell) in the *Vilpattu National Park*: the village *Kerelāgama* or *Veṇulāgama* was assigned to a Hospital at *Anurādhapura*.⁸

Kaḍahalaka tank is mentioned in a 1st century cave inscription at *Galgē Vihāra* in the *Vilpattu South Intermediate Zone*, and is the breached tank near the ruins.⁹

Other sites with inscriptions in the *Vilpattu National Park* are:—(i) a rock with ruins near *Timbirivāva*, south of *Maradanmaḍuwa*, with an inscription of *Kumārādāsa* (508-516) and two other inscriptions of the 5th century; (ii) *Andaragollāgala*, about a mile from the last-named, with an inscription of *Dāthopatisa* II (667-683); and (iii) an inscribed pillar of the 10th century at *Paṭṭi-eliya*, near *Galgē Vihāra*.¹⁰

At *Vēragala*, a ruined site on the *Vilpattu* boundary and about 4 miles north-west of the 27½ mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, there are two damaged inscriptions of the 1st century in which the following place-names occur:—(i) *Sikalagama*; (ii) *Mahanamelivara-Batagama*; (iii) *Patagama*; (iv) *Maraḍaka*; (v) *Maharuka* tank; (vi) *Caḷasumanagama*; (vii) *Mahakaḍa*; (viii) *Kaburagama*; and (ix) *Banahagama*.¹¹

In an inscription of *Kassapa* IV (898-914) at *Timbirivāva*, at the 27½ mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, the village *Mibālīgama* (modern *Timbirivāva*) is assigned to *Māḍbiyan Piriveṇa* at *Naḍraṭ*.¹²

Ābalava in the western quarter of *Rājaraṭṭha* is mentioned in the *Sigiri Graffiti*.¹³

Vasabha (67-111) built the tank *Vahavāpi*, and Mahāsenā (275-301) built *Vāhana* tank. In a 4th century inscription at *Halmillagala Vihāra*, 2 miles from *Nocciyagama* on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, *Vahaviya* (which is equivalent to *Vahavāpi*) is mentioned and is probably the breached tank now known as *Pānikkankulam*, 1 mile north of the 24th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road. Also

7. *M.* 37. 42; 38. 47.

8. *E.Z.* II. 24.

9. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896, 6; 1954, 38.

10. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1954, 38.

11. *A.I.C.* 58; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896, 5.

12. *E.Z.* II. 13.

13. *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

mentioned in this and other early inscriptions at *Halmillagala* are :— (i) Kiḍakehigama; (ii) Huvaragama; (iii) Karujikeya; (iv) Kaḷa-galaṇa, associated with the *Kalā Oya*; (v) Vapalagama; and (vi) Kaḍaragama.¹⁴

At the *Kiralagala* ruins, about 10 miles north of the 28th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, a 2nd century inscription mentions the following places :—(i) Batigama; (ii) Digasivagama; (iii) Kabara-jitagama; (iv) Nava tank; and (v) tracts of fields (vi keta) named Viṭuhara, Daḍamakula, Nahara, Humana, Tulatara, Aca, Mahabamaṇa, Vaṇija, Labaka, Sacina, Dabare, Payihaba and Vejabutigala.¹⁵

The village Citagama is mentioned in a 2nd century inscription at *Āndiyagala* as well as in the tablets at Dakkhina Vihāra, Anurādhapura. *Āndiyagala*, *Billavagala* and *Tāntirimalai* are rocky hills situated fairly close together about 18 miles north-north-west of Anurādhapura: all have caves with pre-Christian inscriptions.¹⁶

Candamukha Siva (43-52) constructed and donated to Issara-samaṇa Vihāra at Anurādhapura the Maṇikāragāma tank: Maṇikā-rāma was near Issarasamaṇa. An inscription of Sirināga II (240-242) at Issarasamaṇa Vihāra records the grant to the Vihāra by Vohārika Tissa (209-231) of Maṇikara tank and Keṇahisa village, both situated in the western division. Māṇingamu is mentioned in a 10th century inscription and may be identical with Maṇikara: there are a village and a tank now called *Maṇingamuva* about 9 miles from Anurādhapura on the *Aripṇu* road.¹⁷

Nikaviṭigama is mentioned in a 4th century inscription at *Nabaḍagala*, 1 mile north of the 36th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road.

In a 1st century inscription at *Ihalagala*, about 2 miles north of the 30th mile on the *Western Minor Road*, the place Baḍahibadaka is mentioned.¹⁸

A 1st century inscription at *Tumbullēgala*, 4 miles south-west of the 28th mile on the *Western Minor Road*, mentions :— (i) Kaḷadagavi-ṇakariya, apparently a town near the *Kalā Oya*; (a 3rd century inscription at *Malasnēgala*, about 3½ miles north-east of the 17th mile on the *Puttalam-Anurādhapura* road, names Kaḷedigevi-niyamatana: the town of Kaḷadagavi and the market-town of Kaḷedigevi in these two inscriptions appear to be identical): Hatthadāṭha (684) built the Kālādīghavika Practising House; and (ii) Ahalaviya.¹⁹

Āṅgamu or Āṅgaḡāma retains its ancient name in the present, breached tank, *Āṅgamuva-vāva*, 3 miles south of the 28th mile on the *Western Minor Road* (Codrington): the tank was restored by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186). There are two inscriptions here of the 1st and the 4th century and in these inscriptions the ruins are named Anulapavata or Mala-Anulapavata Mahavehera, and the following place-names occur :—(i) Kaḍisagagama; and (ii) Akejikaḍari.²⁰

At *Alutgal Vihāra*, 1 mile north of the 21st mile on the *Western Minor Road*, two inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries name :— (i) Karajahabaka tank; (ii) Sagaviya; (iii) Uli tank; (iv) Puna-gama tank; (v) Talaviya; (vi) Taḷasagaviya; and (vii) tracts of fields (vi keta) named Tulatara, Vihiraka and Parivataka.

In an inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) at *Bilibāva*, near the 26th mile on the *Western Minor Road*, the village Mahagāpiyova, (present *Bilibāva*), in the sub-district Pirivatubim, was granted to the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura: at this period this region was in Dakkhinadesa.²¹

To oppose Parakkamabāhu's forces who crossed the *Kalā Oya* and took up position at Āṅgamu (see above), Gajabāhu's troops engaged them at Senāḡāma but were defeated. Parakkamabāhu's troops then continued their advance towards Anurādhapura and successively captured :—(i) Manyāḡāma; (ii) Mita; (iii) Sūkaragāma; (iv) Terigāma (see Teragama); and (v) Badaribhāṭikamāna, a few miles from Anurādhapura.²²

Across the *Kalā Oya*, opposite Moravāpi district, was Kaṭiyagāma or Kaṭivāpi, restored by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186), identified by Codrington as modern *Kaṭṭiyāva*, 3 miles south-south-west of *Eppāvala*. To march against Moravāpi district, Mānābharaṇa assembled his forces at Anurādhapura: Parakkamabāhu's general at *Kalāvāva* advanced to Kāṇamūla to intercept them and then penetrated deeper into Rājaraṭṭha to Kaṭuvandu. Parakkamabāhu restored Kāṇagāma tank which was close to Kāṇamūla: the name *Kaṇumulla* still survives near the 70th mile on the *Kākirāva-Anurādhapura* road.²³

In two inscriptions of the 10th century at *Āppāvala*, near the 15th mile on the *Kākirāva-Talāva* road, the site is called Pamagalu Vihāra, and the village Sāḡama and the fields Galamburu are mentioned.²⁴

Alutvāva, a village about 3 miles north of the 12th mile on the *Kākirāva-Talāva* road, is called Hopiṭiya in the sub-division Mahademeti-kuliya, in an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) *in situ*: also mentioned is the place Govin-nāmaṭṭiya.²⁵

14. *M.* 35. 94 : 37. 48 : *A.I.C.* 59 : *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896, 5.

15. *A.I.C.* 54.

16. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXII, 73 : XXIX, 112.

17. *D.* 21. 44 ; *M.* 35. 47 ; *E.Z.* II. 25 : IV. 322.

18. *A.I.C.* 62 : *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896, 5.

19. *M.* 46. 46 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1896, 5.

20. *M.* 70. 123-130 : 79. 37.

21. *E.Z.* II. 43.

22. *M.* 70. 123-161.

23. *M.* 70. 67 : 72. 176-204 : 79. 34, 35.

24. *E.Z.* III. 191, 193.

25. *E.Z.* II. 234.

Kumbhakāragāma was a potters' village to south of Anurādhapura.²⁶

To southward of and not far from Anurādhapura were:—(i) Chātapabbata or Chātavāhapabbata, a hill a little over a yojana south-east of Anurādhapura, where Saddhātissa built Chāta Vihāra: most probably this is present *Talaguru* vihāra on *Gāṭalagamakanda*; (ii) Cetāvigāma or Cētaligāma not far from and south of Anurādhapura; (iii) Paṇḍulagāmaka; (iv) Siyāmahantakuddāla, near Tissavāpi but to westward of it; (v) Mahāgāmeṇḍi or Gāmeṇḍitalāka tank, granted by Āmandagāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29) to Dakkhina Vihāra; (vi) Nāvini, granted to the Bodhi Tree; (vii) Diviya-ataraḍaka, granted to Dakkhina Vihāra; (viii) Mahanabata, granted to Dakkhina Vihāra; (ix) Kivisiṭṭini, granted to Dakkhina Vihāra; and (x) Siripitṭhi, called Siripitṭi in the Sigiri Graffiti, probably present *Hiripitṭiyagama* near the 5th mile on the *Kākirāva-Talāva* road.²⁷

Vihārabija or Vihirabija was a sub-district close to and south of Anurādhapura. 500 young men from this area received the pabbajā from Mahinda Thera. In it were:—(i) Muḍagutika or Muṭigutika tank; and (ii) Viṣaḷagamika.²⁸

Mahāsena (275-301) built Rattamālakaṇḍaka or Rattala tank and Kassapa IV (898-914) erected a shrine on the Rattāmala hill, present *Ratmalē*, close to and south of Anurādhapura. The village Kakkhagamiya is mentioned in a 6th century inscription at *Kuḍā Ratmalē*.²⁹

The ruins called *Maṇḍagala*, about 2 miles west of the 10th mile on the Anurādhapura-*Kurundāgala* road, are named Ajunahivita Vihara in a 1st century inscription *in situ*: also mentioned are Hotavata and Kajidora.

Kosavakanda Vihāra about 2 miles south-east of *Maradankaḍavala*, is styled Milakatiṣa Vihāra in a 2nd B.C. inscription there, but in a later 2nd century inscription it is named Jaḷakataka Vehera and the Darakaḍa tank is mentioned.³⁰

Mahagala is mentioned in a 6th century inscription at *Noccikulama*, near *Marandankaḍavala*.³¹

Upatissagāma or Upatissanagara was a settlement on the Gambhīra river, 1 yojana (8 to 12 miles) north of Anurādhapura,

founded by Vijaya's Minister, Upatissa, according to tradition, in the 6th century B.C.: it was in Ālsara and a prosperous market-town. After Vijaya's death and till the accession of Paṇḍukābhaya, a period of about 50 years, it was the capital. The movement of the first stream of immigration was up the Kadamba-nadī, the first seat of the ruler being Tambapaṇṇi, at the river's mouth, next Upatissagāma, and finally Anurādhapura. 500 young men from Upatissagāma received the pabbajā from Mahinda. The Gambhīra river must be the *Kaṇadara Oya* which flows 10 to 12 miles north of Anurādhapura at the closest points. In inscriptions of the early centuries A.C. a division named Utarapura is mentioned which appears to have been named after a town of the same name: perhaps Upatissagāma was known also, contemporaneously or later, as Utarapura.³²

The Kadamba-nadī (present *Malvatta Oya*) is also called Kalamba and Koḷom Oya and on its banks was the Kalambatittha or Galambatittha Vihāra existing in the 1st century: Vasabha (67-111) improved the Vihāra and built a tank to irrigate 1,000 karisas.^{32A}

Early in the 2nd century B.C., Sūratissa built Kolambahālaka Vihāra near Raheraka. In B.C. 161 the Cōla reinforcements under Bhalluka landed at Mahātitttha (*Māntai*) and advanced to Kolambahālaka which must have been very close to Anurādhapura because the subsequent battle took place within the City. In B.C. 103, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was vanquished in battle at Kolambālaka, also called Kalombālaka, which was to northward of and very close to the site of the later Abhayagiri Vihāra. Vasabha (67-111) built Kolombagāmaka or Koḷomgalurēru tank. Koḷombā and Koḷombagalu are mentioned in 10th century inscriptions: the Kolomb canal led water away from Tissavāpi to the north. These variants all stand for Kolambahālaka which was north of and within a short distance of the City. Close to Kolambahālaka was Raheraka. Silākāla (518-531) donated the Rahera canal to Abhayagiri Vihāra. Moggallāna II, (531-551), marching on Anurādhapura from the east, took up a position on Raherapabbata: Dāthāpābhuti camped opposite on Karindapabbata. Moggallāna III (614-619) advanced on Anurādhapura from the south and reached Rahera: battle was joined at Pācīnatissapabbata, just outside and to east of the City. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Rahera tank.³³

Taraccha tank, built in Devānaṃpiya Tissa's reign (B.C. 247-207) was in or close to Anurādhapura: also close to the City were:—(i) Hakaragoḍa; (ii) Ilubarata; and (iii) Gāma.³⁴

26. *E.H.B.* App. IB.

27. *D.* 21. 34; *M.* 10. 20; 11. 10; 17. 59; 35. 5; 44. 88; 70. 148-161; *M.T.* 300, 9; 384. 18; *E.H.B.* 54; *E.Z.* V, 26, note 6, 69; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

28. *E.Z.* I. 62, 255; *A.I.C.* 20.

29. *M.* 52. 20; 37. 48; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52; *E.Z.* V. 34.

30. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXXVI, No. 98; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1893, 8; Codrington, *Coins*, 193.

31. *C.J.S.* II. 28.

32. *D.* 9. 30-44; *M.* 7. 44; 8. 13; 17. 60; 28. 7; *Puj.* 1.

32A. *M.* 35. 85; *E.H.B.* 121.

33. *M.* 21. 5; 25. 80-93; 33. 42; 35. 94; 41. 31-46; 44. 1-14; 79. 33; *Puj.* 21 *Raj.* 47; *E.Z.* I. 36; II. 56, 218.

34. *M.* 22. 4; *E.H.B.* 75, 76, 107; *E.Z.* I. 182; *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.) XXXV, 54.

At Haṅkārapitṭhi, near the gate of Kappallakkhaṇḍa or Kapālākanda, Iḷanāga I (33-43) defeated the Laṁbakannaṣ. Haṅkāra village, the same as Haṅkārapitṭhi, was granted by Aggabodhi III (628) to the Mahallarāja Practising House, together with the villages Sāmuḡama, Kehella and Mahāgalla (the last-named present *Nikavarāṭṭiya* in *Kurunāgala* district).³⁵

The *Kiribat Vehera* inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914) grants to Thūpārāma the land Uturnmegirvatta (probably the site of the inscription) bounded on the east by Veheravatta and on the north by the Sāmbaḍā forest.³⁶

In an inscription of Mahinda IV (56-972) at *Rambāva*, at the 10th mile on the Anurādhapura-*Jaffna* road, a grant is made to the Mahāvihāra of:—(i) Asunpīṭiteya in Kilind-deṅgdara, and Kuṭṭāvatta, all in the sub-district Kalanū-bim (the area around *Rambāva*) which was in Uturnpasa (the northern division of Rājaraṭṭha); (ii) Moronḍu-Mahasengamiya; and (iii) Vaṅgurupīṭi or Paṅgurupīṭi.³⁷

Pācinatissapabbata Vihāra, on the east side of Anurādhapura and below the northern curve of the bund of *Nuvaravāva*, was the scene of two battles, in each case the nearest point to the Capital reached by rebel forces. Close to Pācinatissapabbata and to eastward of it was the Merumajjara forest.³⁸

Pācinapabbata Vihāra on the Vaṅguttara hill was built by Sūratissa early in the 2nd century B.C.: it was at the foot of the Ekadvārika mountain. The Ekadvāra Vihāra, to east of Anurādhapura, was built by Subha (60-67) and it too was at the foot of the Ekadvārika hill. The Vaṅguttara hill was part of the Ekadvārika range. Inscriptions of Subha and of Gajabāhu I (114-136) at *Pahala Kayināṭṭama* and *Vihāragala*, at the foot of the range now known as *Puliyānkulamakanda*, close to the *Sīppikulam-Kayināṭṭama* minor road, name the site Ekadoraya or Ekadorika Vihāra, Ekadvāra of the Chronicle, and grant to it Upaladonika tank (present *Kayināṭṭamavāva*). A tank named Doṇuppalavāpi or Uppalavāpi is mentioned in the Commentaries. (There was another Vihāra name Ekadoraya in the *Kurunāgala* district).³⁹

Pācinakambaviṭṭhi Vihāra, to east of Anurādhapura, was built by Dhātusena (455-473).⁴⁰

Dvāramaṇḍalaka, also called Dōvarikamaṇḍala or Vāramaṇḍala or Demitigama, was a village and sub-district close to *Mihintalē*. It was 9 yojanas (70 to 85 miles) from Kacchakatittha (*Mahagantota*).

Near Dvāramaṇḍala was Hatthikkhandha Vihāra, in the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha, built by Sūratissa (circa B.C. 200).⁴¹

To east of Anurādhapura were:—(i) Acchagallaka Vihāra, near Dahegallaka or Rahagallaka, built by Sūratissa (circa B.C. 200); and (ii) Sejalaka or Pejalaka or Sajilakandārāma founded by Mahāllaka Nāga (136-143).⁴²

Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (167-186) built three Vihāras in the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha:—(i) Niyelatissārāma; (ii) Pīlapitṭhi; and (iii) Rājamahā Vihāra which may be the same as Rājasāla Vihāra to which Aggabodhi VIII (804-815) granted the village Cūlavāpiyagāma.⁴³

Mahāsena (275-301) built Khānuvāpi which the Sinhalese Chronicle calls Kaṇādiyadora, identical with Kānavāpi, the large, breached reservoir now known as *Kaṇadarāva*, about 2 miles north-east of *Mihintalē*. Sena I (833-853) assigned Kānavāpi to Cetiyaṭṭhā Vihāra (*Mihintalē*). Sena II (853-887) built a dam at Kaṭṭhantānagara to augment the supply to Kānavāpi. An inscription of Udaya II (887-898) at *Kaṇadarāva* names the tank Kānavāva. In the tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972) at *Mihintalē* the king decrees that the whole supply of Kānavāva shall be utilised for *Mihintalē* Vihāra only, in accordance with the custom prevailing during the Tamil regime. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) both restored Kānavāpi: in an inscription of the latter the length of the bund of Kaṇādiyadora is given as 1,600 rīyan.⁴⁴

Anulatissapabbata Vihāra in Gaṅgārājī was built by Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (167-186). A 6th century inscription at *Pūvarasankulam*, 2 miles north of *Mihintalē*, names the site Anulatisapavata. Gaṅgārājī was, therefore, a sub-district close to and north of *Mihintalē*.⁴⁵

At *Duṇumaḍalakanda* Vihāra, 5 miles west-north-west of *Mihintalē*, there are inscriptions dating from 2nd B.C. to 1st A.C. in which the following place-names occur:—(i) Ulajaka tank; (ii) Sita-saviya; (iii) Kaṇagamaka, probably associated with Kānavāpi; (iv) Tulataraviya; (v) Hānahagamaka; (vi) Tisaviya; (vii) Paṇahagamaka, identical with Paṇāsagāma in the *Mihintalē* inscription; (viii) Maḷaviya; (ix) Kaḷatagama; (x) Cujivilaka; (xi) Naṭabari-saka; and (xii) Kadamujita.⁴⁶

41. *D.* 10. 9; *M.* 10. 1: 17. 59: 21. 4: 23. 23, 26: *M.T.* 424; *Raj.* 31.

42. *D.* 22. 15-17; *M.* 21. 6: 35. 124; *M.T.* 424; *E.M.* 35. 125.

43. *M.* 36. 15: 49. 47; *M.T.* 659.

44. *M.* 37. 47: 50. 72; 51. 73: 60. 50: 79. 34; *E.Z.* I. 112; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 115; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 10.

45. *M.* 36. 15; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 102.

46. *A.I.C.* 15, 20, 31; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1892, 6; Codrington, *Coins*, 194; *E.Z.* III. 155; *U.C.R.* VII, 238, 7.

35. *M.* 35. 39: 44. 119, 120: 45. 27; *E.M.* 35. 34.

36. *E.Z.* I. 161.

37. *E.Z.* II. 69.

38. *M.* 41. 14: 44. 15, 21. It is possible that Pācinatissapabbata of the *Cul.* is identical with the Pācinapabbata (see below) of the *M.*

39. *M.* 21. 5: 35. 58; *M.T.* 424: 648. 5; *E.H.B.* 120, 121; *E.Z.* III. 162-166.

40. *M.* 38. 48.

Nilarājiya district was a sub-division extending over an area close to and north of Anurādhapura. In it were:—(i) Aritagāma; (ii) Kacaka-avudakagāma; (iii) Jālagamaka tank donated to Abhayagiri Vihāra: Mahācūli Mahātissa (B.C. 77-63) built Jālagāma Vihāra, also called Vālagāma; (iv) Citagāma; and (v) Gamiñitisa tank or Gāmañivāpi, present *Perumiyankulam*.⁴⁷

Upalabijaka or Upalavi-bijika or Upalavi was the name of a district in 1st B.C. and early A.C. which corresponded approximately to the southern portion of *Kānda Kōralē*, the western portion of *Kalpē Kōralē* and the northern portion of *Kaṇadara Kōralē*, its western and eastern limits being near *Sīppikulama* and *Galkanādegama* respectively. Within it was a sub-district named Utarapura-atana which extended over *Kaṭaṭasdigiliya* and *Nāṭṭunkanda*. In Upalabijaka district were:—(i) Vaḍamana tank, present *Pālu-mākkicāva*, near the 65th mile on the Anurādhapura-*Trincomalee* road, granted to Thūpārāma by Gajabāhu I (114-136); (ii) Pajina-Nakapavata Vehera, the present ruins known as *Tammanakanda*, 3 miles north of the 63rd mile on the Anurādhapura-*Trincomalee* road; (iii) Patagamaka; (iv) Mahiya Piḍaviya; (v) Navagamaka; (vi) Kuṭavanagāma; (vii) Pajalaka tank: the Sīgiri Graffiti mention Pajalava; (viii) Paḷa tank, and (ix) Hakanakarakā tank granted to Devarabaka Vihāra: Paḍahataka tank at Devagāma was also granted to the same Vihāra. In the Utarapura-atana sub-division of Upalabijaka district were:—(i) Honagariya or Honagirika Vihāra, called Hunagiri Vehera in the Sīgiri graffiti, the present ruins on the hill *Nāṭṭunkanda*, about ¼ mile west of the 3rd mile on the *Kaṭaṭasdigiliya-Ratmalēgahēvāva* road; (ii) Erekaṇṇi; (iii) Pajina Honagiriya tank; (iv) Pajubata; (v) Jaba tank; (vi) Paḍi tank; (vii) Sidaviya; (viii) Karajaviya; (ix) Dataviya; (x) Kabaragāma tank; (xi) Maducaya; (xii) Sivilaviya; (xiii) Vijita; (xiv) Cuḷatisa; (xv) Padiya; (xvi) Patani tank; (xvii) Valimahamaḍa; (xviii) Mañikiragāma tank (not Mañikāragāmakavāpi in the western division); (xix) Nilavijita Mahavihāra, present *Debelgala Vihāra*, 1½ miles north-west of the 67½ mile on the Anurādhapura-*Trincomalee* road.⁴⁸

Amgam-kūliya, a sub-district in the northern division (Uturupasa) of Rājaraṭṭha, is named in 3 inscriptions at *Kaṭaṭasdigiliya*, *Vēvālkāṭiya* (at the 11th mile on the *Madavacciya-Horovapotāna* road), and *Kirigollāva* (at the 5th mile on the same road): it was an area corresponding to present *Kandu* and *Pahala Kanda Tūlānas*. The Sīgiri Graffiti mention Amgam-kūli in Uturpas. The inscriptions mention:—(i) Demel Vehera at Kibinilam or Kibigāma (present *Vēvālkāṭiya*); and (ii) Itnarugāma (present *Kirigollāva*).⁴⁹

47. *M.* 34. 9: *M.T.* 625; *E.M.* 34. 9; *A.I.C.* 20; *E.Z.* I. 256; *C.J.S.* (G) I. 52.

48. *E.Z.* I. 211: III. 168, 179, 181: IV. 235; *U.C.R.* VII, No. 4, 246; *A.S.* 7th Rep. 47-50; Codrington, *Coins*, 195.

49. *E.Z.* I. 246: II. 4; *A.S.* 7th Rep. 53; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

In an inscription of Kumāradāsa (508-516) at *Nāgirikanda*, 5 miles north-east of *Madavacciya*, the site is named Bamañagariya Vihāra and the following tanks are mentioned:—(i) Mahagariya; (ii) Cugariya; (iii) Kabuba; (iv) Kaṭacanapakula; (v) Tavaa; (vi) Nilasa; (vii) Gajaa; and (viii) Paḍa.⁵⁰

An inscription of Sena II (853-887) at *Kōlibānāva*, 3 miles south of the 8th mile on the *Madavacciya-Horovapotāna* road, names the site Kaṅgiri Vihāra.⁵¹

Handagala Vihāra, 3 miles north-west of *Ratmalēgahēvāva* at the 12th mile on the *Madavacciya-Horovapotāna* road, is a picturesque site with numerous inscribed caves of the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century. The place-names occurring in these inscriptions are:—(i) Paṇadika; (ii) Anuḷapi tank; (iii) Nakodapika tank; (iv) Matalagāma: this may be the same as Mahātālitaḡāma, north of Anurādhapura and on the Uttaradesa boundary, where the Pāṇḍyans inflicted their shattering defeat on the army of Sena I (831-855); (v) *Naka-nakara*: this name occurs also in the *Tammanakanda* inscription, 25 miles to the south, and may be the same as the 10th century *Nannaru*, a place near *Padaviya*.⁵²

The ruins at *Karambankulama*, 1 mile from the 59th mile on the Anurādhapura-*Trincomalee* road, are called Naka Vihāra in a 3rd century inscription there.⁵³

In an inscription of Dappula V (924-935) at *Āllēvāva*, near the 63rd mile on the Anurādhapura-*Trincomalee* road, the place Kuḷaviṭiya (present *Āllēvāva*) is mentioned.⁵⁴

Āṭaviragollāva, near the 7th mile on the *Madavacciya-Horovapotāna* road, is called Velangāma in an inscription of Dappula IV (924-935).⁵⁵

Uttamadevi Vihāra, to east of Anurādhapura, existed in the early centuries A.C.⁵⁶

The ruins and ancient sites in the Anurādhapura district with inscriptions which contain no topographical information or without inscriptions are too numerous for recapitulation.

(B). Cetiyaṭṭabbata Vihāra

Cetiyaṭṭabbatavihāra, called Seygiri or Sāgiri in Sinhalese literature and inscriptions, is modern *Mihintalē Vihāra*. According

50. *E.Z.* IV. 123.

51. *C.J.S.* (G) II. 111.

52. 'The Brahmi Inscriptions at Handagala Vihāra', *C.H.J.* 224; *E.Z.* I. 198; *M.* 50. 14.

53. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1892, 8.

54. *A.S.* 7th Rep. 46.

55. *E.Z.* II. 48.

56. *E.H.B.* 103.

to the tradition, the Thera Mahinda and his companions alighted in B.C. 246 on the Sila peak, on the open tableland Ambatthala, on Missakapabbata: then followed the meeting with king Devānaṃpiya Tissa, the visit to Anurādhapura, the conversion of the king and the establishment of Buddhism as the religion of the Sinhalese people. The Cetiyaṣpabbata Vihāra on the Missaka mountain was founded by Devānaṃpiya Tissa and presented to Mahinda. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree was planted there. Mahindaguhā or Theranambattha-leṇa on Ambatthala was the cave occupied by Mahinda Thera: the thera Lomasa Nāga lived later in the cave named Piyaṅguguhā: a third cave was known as Rājaleṇa in Saddhā Tissa's time (B.C. 137-119). Cetiyaṣpabbata was so named because numerous Cetiya-Parakkama-bāhu I (1153-1186) is said to have restored 64 Cetiya there—were built on the hill at all levels from foot to summit. See *E.Z.* I. 81 and 82 for further historical details. Fa-Hsien (411-413) says that there were about 2,000 monks at Cetiyaṣpabbata Vihāra in his time. In the 5th century the Vihāra passed into the control of the Mahāyāna fraternity of Abhayagiri Vihāra. Extensive repairs and restorations were carried out by Aggabodhi V (718-724): Parakkama-bāhu I (1153-1186) also carried out some work of re-building.⁵⁷

The principal features of the Cetiyaṣpabbata entourage were:—

- (i) The Tumbara forest: of the 32 mālakas, Mahinda Thera marked first the Tumarū mālaka;⁵⁸
- (ii) Kaṇṭaka or Kaṇḍaka Cetiya, built during or soon after the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207). Round the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya were 68 rock-caves and 32 mālakas constructed by Devānaṃpiya Tissa. Laṅṭatissa (B.C. 119-110) made a stone mantling for the Khandhaka or Kaṇṭaka Cetiya. In a 2nd century inscription *in situ*, it is called Kaṇṭaka-ceta. Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (7-19) held a great festival which became known as the Giribhaṇḍa festival. Udaya I (797-801) restored Giribhaṇḍa Vihāra. In the *Mihintalē* tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972) it is called Kiribhaṇḍpavu dāgāba. Its modern name is *Kiribat Vehera*.⁵⁹
- (iii) Nāgacatukka or Nāgasonḍi pond, used as a bathing tank by Mahinda thera and the monks of the Vihāra. Aggabodhi I (571-604) ensured a permanent supply of water for it. It is the present *Nāgapokuna*.⁶⁰

- (iv) A Cetiya to enshrine part of the Relics of Mahinda Thera was built by Uttiya towards the end of the 3rd century B.C. This Cetiya has been identified by Paranavitana as the smaller, ruined thūpa alongside the Mahāthūpa on the summit;⁶¹
- (v) Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (B.C. 44-22) built Silā Cetiya to east of the Upasatha House, and, enclosing it, Kaṇṭṭha Tissa (167-186) built the Cetiyaḡhara or vaṭa-dā-gō: Gothābhaya (249-263) restored it. In the 3rd century *Habarana* inscription the Agivaḍamāna tank (present *Hirivaḍuna* tank at *Habarana*) was donated to Silaceta on Abatala (Ambatthala) in Cetagiri (Cetiyaṣpabbata) Vihāra;⁶²
- (vi) Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (B.C. 44-22) also built a great Upasatha House and he planted a Bodhi Tree. In the reign of Kaṇirajānutissa (29-32) there was a lawsuit over the Upasatha House and the king had thrown down to death on the Kanīra precipice 60 bhikkhus who were involved in treason;⁶³
- (vii) The Ambatthala Mahāthūpa or Ambulu Cetiya, on the very summit of the hill, identified by Paranavitana as the present *Mahāthūpa*, the highest and largest thūpa at *Mihintalē*, was built by Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (7-19): at the 4 entrances were 4 bejewelled arches. Dhātusena (455-473) built the Ambatthala Vihāra and handed it over to the Mahāyāna fraternity. The *Mihintalē* tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972) mention Ambulu-dāgāba;⁶⁴
- (viii) A roadway round the hill with 4 gateways was constructed by Mahādāṭhikamahānāga (7-19);⁶⁵
- (ix) 10 thūpas were built by Vasabha (67-111);⁶⁶
- (x) Katthaka Cetiya was built by the queen of Udaya I (797-801);⁶⁷
- (xi) A Hospital was founded by Sena II (853-887); a 9th century inscription at a ruined building near the present entrance to the Vihāra refers to it as the Hospital at Sāgiri;⁶⁸
- (xii) The Hadayunha Pariveṇa was built by the general of Kassapa IV (898-914) and donated to the Mahāyāna sect.⁶⁹

61. *M.* 20. 45.

62. *M.* 35. 10, 11 : 36. 9, 106 ; *A.I.C.* 61 ; *E.Z.* III. 117, 179 : IV. 126 ; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 207.

63. *M.* 34. 30. 31.

64. *M.* 35. 10, 11 : 34. 70-73 : 38. 75, 76 ; *Puj.* 20 ; *E.Z.* I. 112 ; *A.S.M.* V, 8.

65. *M.* 35. 81.

66. *M.* 35. 81.

67. *M.* 49. 23.

68. *M.* 51. 73 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1910-11, 20 : 1952. 40.

69. *M.* 52. 18.

57. *M.* 13. 20 : 14. 1-65 : 16. 1-18 : 36. 106 : 48. 7 : 78. 108 ; *E.H.B.* 102-105 : App. IB.

58. *M.* 10. 2 : 16. 15.

59. *M.* 16. 12, 15 : 33. 25 : 34. 81 : 49. 29 ; *E.M.* 16. 15 : 33. 24 ; *E.Z.* I. 103 : III. 200.

60. *M.* 14. 36 : 16. 6 : 42. 28.

The *Mihintalē* tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972) mention, in addition to the foregoing, the following :—

- (i) Āt vehera (P. Anto-vihāra or Inner Monastery) in which were (a) the Dāgē or Vaṭa-Dā-Gē, that is, the Cetiyaḥara built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa; and (b) the 'Check-room'; belonging to Āt-vehera were the dāgābas on Uḍgala and Yāṭgala, the upper and lower rocks;
- (ii) the Bat-gē or Refectory;
- (iii) the Maha-Boy-Gē, or Bodhi Tree House;
- (iv) Katumahasāya dāgāba;
- (v) Navaguṇa Mahasāya dāgāba;
- (vi) Nāṭeviya Mahasāya, also called Nāṭāgiri;
- (vii) Boṇḍ Vehera;
- (viii) Nayinda shrine;
- (ix) the House of the goddess Minināl;
- (x) Ḷahiniya-pavu and the two tanks on its upper and lower sides;
- (xi) Porodenī pokuṇa; and
- (xii) Pahanāvil pond.⁷⁰

In a B.C. cave inscription a son of Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Abaya is styled Loṇapi Aya Siva. In two other B.C. inscriptions a king is styled Kaṇagama Raja Tisa.⁷¹

The Chronicles record the following grants to Cetiyaḥara Vihāra:—(i) Kālamattika tank by Jeṭṭhatissa I (263-275); (ii) Mahindataṭa tank, present *Bulankulam* at *Mihintalē*, built and donated by Aggabodhi I (571-604); (iii) Ambillapadara village, by Aggabodhi III (629-639) and (iv) Kāṇavāpi by Sena I (833-853) q.v.⁷²

The several inscriptions at *Mihintalē* record numerous benefactions:—(i) the long, damaged inscription of Bhātikabhaya (B.C. 22-A.C. 7) names the following places:—(i) Pulekāvi tank; (ii) Yakasava canal; (iii) Vadaga canal; (iv) Paṇāsagāma, the same as Paṇahagama of the *Dunumaḍalakanda* inscription; (v) Hamanakara canal; (vi) Aritagama and Kacaka-avudakagama in Nilarājiya sub-district, already dealt with; (vii) Kalinīgāma tank in Mujitagāma-nakarika: this place, Mujitagama-nakara, is mentioned in several early inscriptions and in it were (a) Komatala tank, granted to Abhayagiri Vihāra, (b) Mataka tank, granted to the Mahāthūpa, and (c) Dakinīgiri Karihiya tank, granted to *Mihintalē*; (viii) Agāṇagāma or Agāṇakola, in which was Kabota-agāṇa tank; (ix) Nakaragāṇa tank; a Vihāra named Nagaraṇḡaṇa in the eastern division was built by Mahāsiva

early in the 2nd century B.C.; (x) Govakadatayihagāma tank; (xi) Cuḍalāgala tank in Amarātana sub-division; (xii) Ketavalaka tank in the same sub-division; (xiii) Vihirabijaka division, already dealt with;⁷³ (2) Tambatikala is mentioned in an 8th century inscription;⁷⁴ (3) a field at Sandagama is mentioned as a donation in a 10th or 11th century inscription;⁷⁵ (4) the *Mihintalē* tablets of Mahinda IV (956-972) name the following villages and tanks as assigned to the Vihāra:—(i) Manuvāsara tank; (ii) Damgamiya or Damiya, a village assigned for the maintenance of Katu-mahasāya and the lay officials: Damgamu occurs in a 10th century inscription; (iii) Ālgamiya, a maintenance village for Kiribaṇḍpavu dāgāba: this may be *Ālagamuva*, near *Kākirāva*; (iv) Gutāgama, a maintenance village for the Relic House; (v) Karandāgama, a maintenance village for the Image House: a Vihāra named Mahākaraṇjiya existed in the 1st century; (vi) Talolagama; (vii) Sapugamiya; (viii) Vaḍu-devāgama; (ix) Sunubol-devāgama; (x) Dunumugama; (xi) Maṅgulāva, which may be present *Makulāva*, 6 miles south-east of *Galgamuva*; (xii) Detisāsena; and (xiii) Minā tank.⁷⁶

(C). Kalāgam Palāta

The *Kalā Oya* is called the Goṇa-nadī or Kālāvāpi-nadī and the district through which it flowed in its lower course was known as the Goṇa or Gōṇa district.⁷⁷

Dhātusena (455-473) built Kālāvāpi, present *Kalāvāva*, and Kālāvāpi Vihāra. Twin with *Kalāvāva* was Balaḷuvāva which still bears the same name, and was also built by Dhātusena. Presumably, though there is no statement to that effect, Dhātusena simultaneously built the Jaya Gaṅgā, the artificial canal, now called *Yōda-āla*, which conveys water a distance of 55 miles from *Kalāvāva* to *Tissavāva* at Anurādhapura and irrigates a large area along its course. Parakkama-bāhu I (1153-1186) restored Kālāvāpi as well as the Jaya Gaṅgā: an inscription of this king gives the length of the bund of Kālāvāpi as 1,700 ryan. Aggabodhi I (571-604) erected an Uposatha House in Kālāvāpi Vihāra, and Jeṭṭhatissa III (628) assigned the village of Lada to the Vihāra. Kālāvāpi Vihāra is probably the temple now known as *Vijitapura* Vihāra at the northern end of the bund of *Kalāvāva*. The better-known *Avukana* Vihāra, about 2 miles distant, with its colossal, stone Image, was, as its inscriptions attest, in existence in the 1st

70. *E.Z.* I. 75-113, 239.

71. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 95, 97; *U.C.R.* VII. 240.

72. *M.* 36. 131 : 42. 29 : 44. 122.

73. *A.I.C.* 60; *M.* 21. 2; *E.Z.* I. 70, 255.

74. *E.Z.* IV. 148.

75. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 49.

76. *E.Z.* I. 75-113 : IV. 66; *E.H.B.* 123.

77. *M.* 83. 17; *N.S.* 23; *Puj.* 42.

century. These early inscriptions name two tanks, Kaḷabutaka and Kaḷubaha.⁷⁸

Cūlābhaya (32-33) built Cūlagallaka Vihāra, also known as Gaggārāma, on the banks of the Goṇaka-nadi. The Commentaries mention Gaggaravāliya-aṅgaṇa. Aggabodhi II (604-614) built a Practising House in Cūlagalla Vihāra. Cūlagalla-raṭṭha is mentioned in the Commentaries.⁷⁹

Gonisa Vihāra was some distance to the north of the *Kalā Oya*.⁸⁰

Kālavāpi-raṭṭha, the district around *Kalāvāva*, was the scene of much fighting in the civil war between Parakkamabāhu and Gajabāhu II. It was in Rājaraṭṭha, the territory of Gajabāhu. In it were (i) Kālavāpigāma, where Gajabāhu's commander was stationed, and (ii) Goṇagāmuka, the scene of a battle.⁸¹

Piliyāna is mentioned in an 8th century inscription at *Tammanagala*, 4 miles north-west of *Nāgama*.⁸²

In the inscription of Udaya I (797-801) at *Nāgama*, 10 miles south-south-west of *Kalāvāva*, the village Koḷayunu (present *Nāgama*) situated in the sub-district Taṇabim, is assigned to the Image House at Abhayagiri Vihāra. Kolavāpi was donated by Silāmeghavaṇṇa (619-628) to the Stone Image at Abhayagiri Vihāra.⁸³

The village Ambilayāgu, near which was Nandivāpi, was close to the *Kalā Oya*. Ambilagrāma was a village assigned to Abhayagiri Vihāra. Ambilahāla Vihāra existed in the 1st century.⁸⁴

Canigama is mentioned in a pre-Christian cave inscription at *Maha Aḷagamuva* Vihāra, off the 54th mile on the *Dambulla-Kākirūva* road. This was a large monastery, with several caves, of early origin.⁸⁵

Mahādatta tank, built by Dhātusena (455-473), is also called Mādāta and ascribed to Aggabodhi II (604-614). Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) both restored Mahādattika or Mahādatta tank. It is present *Mādātugama*, near the 51st mile on the *Dambulla-Kākirūva* road.⁸⁶

In the reign of Mahinda II (777-797) a rebel prince advanced from *Kalāvāva* to Saṅgaḡama on the route to Anurādhapura.⁸⁷

Inscriptions of the 1st and 7th centuries at *Budugēhinna* Vihāra, at the 20th mile on the *Kalāvāva-Galēvela* road, mention (i) Matukapika, and (ii) Aḷakanuva tank.⁸⁸

Moggallāna II (531-551) made the following three tanks, the first by damming the Kadamba-nadi (*Malvatta Oya*):—(i) Pattapāsāna tank: Pattapāsāna was also the name of a sub-district and I am informed by Dr. Paranavitana that Patpahan-bim occurs in unpublished medieval inscriptions in the *Nāccaduva* area, so that Pattapāsāna tank must be present *Nāccaduva* tank: Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Pattapāsāna tank; two villages in this district were granted to the Jetthārāma monastery built by the queen of Aggabodhi IV (667-683): also granted to this monastery was the village Buddhabelagāma; (ii) Dhanavāpi tank: a district named Dhanapiṭṭhi or Valpiṭa is mentioned in the reign of Datta (683-684) who built Datta Vihāra in it; and (iii) Garitara tank.⁸⁹ (In a Paper in *U.C.R.* XVI, 70, Professor Paranavitana identifies Dhanavāpi or Danāvāva as the earlier name of Padivāpi).

(D). Hurulu Palāta

The Pāli Chronicles, strangely, contain no reference to the original construction of the largest of the ancient reservoirs, Padivāpi, now known as *Padaviya*: a Sinhalese Chronicle ascribes the work to Saddhā Tissa (B.C. 137-119) but it is extremely doubtful whether so large a tank could have been constructed at this early period. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Padivāpi and an inscription of this king states that the length of the bund was 3,200 ryan. Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) decreed Padivāpi a sanctuary for animals. The surrounding district was known as Padī-raṭṭha and was in Uttara-passa (the northern province). A 10th century inscription at *Moragoḍa*, near *Padaviya*, mentions the sub-district Pādinna-kuḷiya, the local area around *Moragoḍa* and the tank. In the reign of Parakkamabāhu II (1236-1271) Padīraṭṭha was under occupation by Tamil invaders, but his successor, Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1273) brought over to his side the Sinhalese dwelling there.⁹⁰

An inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) at *Ayitiḡevāva*, 2 miles south-east of *Kābittigollāva*, records the donation of Demelinhettihaya (present *Ayitiḡevāva*) situated in Loholuva-Kuḷiya (the sub-district around *Kābittigollāva*) to the Tisaram Nunnery at Anurādhapura.⁹¹

88. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1893, 10.

89. *M.* 40. 61 : 46. 27, 28, 41-43 : 60. 50 : 70. 34 ; *N.S.* 17 ; *Puj.* 30 ; *Raj.* 57.

90. *M.* 79. 34 : 83. 16 : 88. 64 ; *Puj.* 19 ; *E.Z.* I. 206 : II. 142 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 10.

91. *E.Z.* II. 37.

78. *M.* 38. 42, 46 : 42. 28 : 44. 101 : 79. 32, 59 ; *Puj.* 27 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 10 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 120, 122.

79. *M.* 35. 13 : 42. 49 ; *D.* 21. 39 ; *E.H.B.* 126 ; *U.C.R.* I. 89.

80. *M.* 38. 21-24. There was no Vihāra by this name—see *U.C.R.*, XV, 127.

81. *M.* 70. 68, 70.

82. *E.Z.* IV. 149.

83. *M.* 44. 69 ; *E.Z.* II. 19.

84. *M.* 38. 14, 15 ; *E.Z.* I. 6 ; *E.H.B.* 83.

85. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1894, 6.

86. *M.* 38. 47 : 60. 48 ; *Puj.* 28.

87. *M.* 48. 91.

An inscription of Bhāṭikatissa (143-167) at *Pahala Usgollāva*, 4 miles north-east of *Kābittigollāva*, records the grant of the Mahatubari tract of fields to a monastery.⁹²

Gāḷinduru Gomandla (present *Rambāva*) is mentioned in an inscription of Udaya I (797-801) at *Rambāva*, near the north-west corner of the large, breached *Vahalkaḍa* tank.⁹³

Posonavulla (present *Iripinniyāva*) in Sulinnarugama is referred to in an inscription of Udaya I (797-801) at *Iripinniyāva*, 2 miles west of *Vahalkaḍa* tank: the Hoya (present *Mora Oya*) and the dam across it (now in ruin, one mile south of the village) are also mentioned.⁹⁴

Two inscriptions of the 5th century at *Labuṭābāṇḍigala*, 7 miles north of *Horovapōtāna* on the *Kapugollāva* road, mention (i) Devagiriya Vihara, the site of the inscription, and (ii) the village *Ṇīḷaviṭiya*.⁹⁵

A pre-Christian cave inscription at *Maha Kapugollāva* on the *Horovapōtāna-Kapugollāva* road, records the grant of a cave by the village corporation of *Tubaḍavasaka*.⁹⁶

The ruins at *Āṭaviyalgala*, 2 miles south of the 87th mile on the *Anurādhapura-Trincomalee* road, are named *Toṭahumanakarakā Vihara* in two 1st century inscriptions *in situ*. The name suggests a ford, but the river (*Yān Oya*) is now 2½ miles distant.

In an inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136) at *Vilēvāva*, 2 miles east of the 78th mile on the *Anurādhapura-Trincomalee* road, the place is called *Kubaragama*.⁹⁷

Hidatagamaka is mentioned in a 1st century inscription at *Veherbāṇḍigala*, 3 miles from *Horovapōtāna* on the *Madavacciya* road.

At *Rasnakavāva Vihāra*, 3 miles north of the 16th mile on the *Madavacciya-Horovapōtāna* road, a series of inscriptions of the 2nd century contain the following place-names :—(i) *Marapagiriya Vihara*, the ancient name of present *Rasnakavāva Vihāra*; (ii) *Dahanakara*; (iii) *Tojanahinaka*; (iv) *Abeḍavarānayaagama*; (v) *Cuḷaviya*; (vi) *Karaviṭiya*; (vii) *Matavihikaviya*; (viii) *Tabeta*; (ix) *Alagoḍaka tank*; (x) *Paḷavasaya*; (xi) *Abalavasaya*; and (xii) *Pekarevasaka*, the same, probably, as *Pikaravasaka* of the *Pahala Tammanāva* inscription below.⁹⁸

The ruins at *Pahala Tammanāva*, 1 mile east of the 11th mile on the *Ratmalēgahēvāva-Kābittigollāva* road, are named *Majimagama Vihara* in two inscriptions of the 2nd century *in situ*: also mentioned are :—(i) *Pikaravasaka*, vide above; (ii) *Ravakaviṭiya*; (iii) *Maṇi-aviya tank*; (iv) *Hanagamaka*; and (v) *Mataviya*.

At *Ācāravittigāma* or *Avuruviṭigama*, 3 yojanas or 12 gav (20 to 30 miles) north-east of *Anurādhapura*, gold is said to have been found in the reign of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya* (B.C. 161-137): the place would have been in the area *Ratmalēgahēvāva-Kābittigollāva*.⁹⁹

Kumbukvāva Vihāra, 1 mile east of the 4th mile on the *Kaḷaṭa-gasdigiliya-Ratmalēgahēvāva* road, is called *Nakapavata Vihara* in a 3rd century inscription *in situ*.¹⁰⁰

Galkandēgamakanda, 3½ miles north of the 72nd mile on the *Anurādhapura-Trincomalee* road, is called *Piyakapasana* in a pre-Christian cave inscription there. Possibly connected with it was *Piyagal Pirivena* built by *Aggabodhi IV* (667-683). Also mentioned in the early inscriptions at *Galkandēgamakanda* is *Padikaragamaka*.¹⁰¹

Danateka village is named in a pre-Christian inscription at *Bambarahela*, 3 miles south-south-east of the 67th mile on the *Anurādhapura-Trincomalee* road.¹⁰²

In an inscription of *Gajabāhu I* (114-136) at the *Tāmaragala* ruins, 2 miles from the 7th mile on the *Sīppikulama-Galenbindunuvāva* road, the site is named *Gutapavata Vehera*, and the following place-names occur :—(i) *Pahanaviya*; (ii) tracts of fields named *Hajiya*, *Cuḷavika*, *Mahahumanaka*, *Haḍavika*, *Utara-araka*, and *Sivavika*.¹⁰³

At *Vadakahagalahinna*, near *Kokobē*, the place *Humanajanalikeya* is mentioned in a pre-Christian inscription, and the village *Mahagama* in a 2nd century inscription.

A 4th century inscription at *Aminicciya*, about 1 mile north-east of the 28th mile on the *Eastern Minor Road*, names the following places :—(i) *Aḷa Abagama* in *Pajinapasa* (the eastern division); (ii) *Davacakapatagama*; (iii) *Abamavipatagama*; (iv) *Vajiyava tank*; (v) *Kada-aviya tank*; (vi) *Vadabalagamaka tank*; (vii) *Navaḍa-aviya tank*; (viii) *Mahavava*; and (ix) *Vijagamaka*.¹⁰⁴

There are 4 inscriptions of kings of the 3rd century at the ruins called *Veheragala*, near *Timbīrivāva*, 2½ miles east of the 28th mile on the *Eastern Minor Road*, in which the site is named *Gagapavata Vihara*, situated in the sub-district called *Gagavi*: two tanks, one also called *Gagavi*, and the other *Tinisatiya*, are mentioned. The

92. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1892, 9.

93. *E.Z.* I. 175.

94. *E.Z.* I. 169.

95. *E.Z.* III. 250-252.

96. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, V, 71.

97. *A.S.* 7th Rep. 58; *E.Z.* III. 249.

98. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1892, 7; *E.Z.* IV. 228; *U.C.R.* VIII, 120.

99. *M.* 28. 13; *Thv.* 71.

100. *A.I.C.* 63; *Codrington, Coins*, 195.

101. *Puj.* 29; *Raj.* 57; *E.Z.* I. 53.

102. *A.S.* 7th Rep. 53.

103. *A.I.C.* 12.

104. *A.S.* 7th Rep. 54; *E.Z.* III. 181, 250.

name Gagapavata implies a site by the river, but the river (*Yān Oya*) is now 2 miles away and appears to have changed its course in historical times—see also Toṭahumaṇakaraka above.¹⁰⁵

The ruins at *Galapiṭṭagala*, near the 9th mile on the *Maradankaḍa-vala-Habarana* road, are called Devagiri in a 1st century inscription there.¹⁰⁶

Hakulaviya is mentioned in a 1st century inscription at *Hittaragama-hinna*, near *Ganēvalpola*.¹⁰⁷

Gavaratissa Vihāra, also called Varārāma and Gavaravāla-aṅgaṇa, was founded by Bhāṭikatissa (143-167). The same king built and donated to this Vihāra, Mahāmaṇi or Gāmaṇi tank. Later, Mahāmaṇi tank, also called Mahamiṇiya, is ascribed to Mahāsena (275-301). Aggabodhi III (628) gave the village Mahāmaṇikagāma to Jetavana Vihāra. The Sīgiri Graffiti mention Mahamiṇiya. Mahāmaṇi and its variants stand for modern *Māmiṇiya*, the name of a *Kōralē*, village and tank, 3 miles south-east of *Maradankaḍavala*.¹⁰⁸

The ruins at *Kāvarakkulam*, 2 miles north-west of the 12th mile on the *Eastern Minor Road*, are called Raṇa Vihara in a 2nd century inscription.¹⁰⁹

Mahānikkhavāṭṭi tank, also called Mahānikkhaviṭṭi, Mānākāṭi and Mānikavāṭi, was built by Vasabha (67-111), and is present *Mānankāṭṭiya*, near the 12th mile on the *Eastern Minor Road*.¹¹⁰

Mahāsena (275-301) built Challūra tank also called Surālla and Surulla. Later, Surulu tank is ascribed to Dhātusena (455-473). At Surulla, in Maharaṭṭha, a part of Parakkamabāhu's forces was trapped and later relieved. All these names refer to present *Huruluwāva*, recently restored, near *Yakālla* on the *Eastern Minor Road*.¹¹¹

Ariṭṭhagiri, present *Riṭigala*, the highest mountain range in *Nuvarakūlāviya*, which runs parallel to the *Eastern Minor Road* from the 4th to the 8th mile, is first mentioned as the fortified refuge where Paṇḍukabhaya established himself for 7 years in the 4th century B.C. At the foot of the mountain, Sūratissa, early in the 2nd century B.C. built Makulaka or Maṅgula Vihāra. (Makulaka will be discussed later). In an inscription of 2nd B.C. at *Riṭigala*, the foundation of the village Ariṭṭa-mahagama is recorded; another inscription of 1st B.C. records the grant to Ariṭṭa Vihara of Abadaḷaka tank. Laṅja-tissa (B.C. 119-110) extended Ariṭṭha Vihāra. Sena I (831-851)

built on Ariṭṭhagiri a large, well-equipped and richly endowed Vihāra for the Paṇsukūlika bhikkhus. In this king's inscription at *Kivulēkaḍa* he is styled the founder of Riṭigal-aram. The Sīgiri Graffiti mention Riṭgal.¹¹²

From Girilaka, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya advanced to Mahēlanagara. In a 5th century inscription at Anurādhapura, the town of Mahelaka or Makalaka is mentioned. The Makulaka Vihāra was at the foot of *Riṭigala* (see under Ariṭṭhagiri above). If the equation Mahēlanagara=Mahelaka=Makalaka=Makulaka is correct, then Mahēlanagara was near *Riṭigala*. At the spot where Duṭṭhagāmaṇi turned aside from the road to Anurādhapura in order to march on Mahēlanagara, he founded the village of Nivattagiri.¹¹³

The next point of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's advance beyond Mahēlanagara was Kāsapabbata, also called Kālapabbata, Kasāgalbaḍa and Kasāgalugama. It was at this same Kāsapabbata that Paṇḍukābhaya, nearly two centuries earlier, had begun his eastward march. Geiger identifies Kāsapabbata with *Kahagalgama*, 18 miles south-east of Anurādhapura, but this name does not appear on modern maps and village lists: there is a *Kahallēgama* between *Ēruvāva* and *Labunōruva*. Near Kāsapabbata was the town Paṇa, also called Palonagara; this place is identical with Pajjotanagara which was named after Pajjota tank which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built near Kāsapabbata. The Sīgiri Graffiti mention Polonaru. In an inscription of Vasabha (67-111) Palo-nakaraka tank in Tihālaka district and the assembly at Tiragama are mentioned. Aggabodhi II (604-614) built a Practising House at Palamṇagara Vihāra. Tiragama appears to be identical with Terigāma, southward of Anurādhapura, where Parakkamabāhu's forces won a decisive victory. Close to Kāsapabbata, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built the tank Kulantavāpi or Kulatthavāpi or Kalatāvāva, present *Kalattāva*.¹¹⁴

Paṇḍukābhaya, in the 4th century B.C., fought his decisive battle at Lābugāmaka (near Ariṭṭhapabbata), identified by Geiger as present *Labunōruva*. In an inscription of the 1st century at *Vadakahagala* (*Tammanagala*), 2½ miles north-north-east of *Labunōruva*, the name Labunakara occurs: Lābugāmaka of the 4th century B.C., Labunakara of the 1st century, and modern *Labunōruva* are one and the same place, a remarkable instance of the survival of a village name for over 2,000 years. Other places named in the *Vadakahagala* (*Tammanagala*)

112. *M.* 21. 6 : 33. 27 : 50. 63, 64 ; *E.M.* 21. 6 ; *E.Z.* I. 135 : III. 291 ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

113. *M.* 25. 48 ; *M.T.* 480, 3 ; *E.M.* 25. 102 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *E.Z.* III. 122.

114. *M.* 10. 27 : 22. 50 : 25. 21, 51, 66 : 42. 49 : 70. 133-147 ; *E.M.* 10. 36 : 25. 162 ; *M.T.* 480, 18 ; *Raj.* 40 ; *E.Z.* I. 70 ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

105. *A.S.* 7th Rep. 55 ; *E.Z.* IV. 227.

106. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1893, 10.

107. *J.R.A.S.* (C.B.), New Series, V. 76.

108. *D.* 22. 9, 20 ; *M.* 36. 2, 3 : 37. 47 : 44. 21 ; *Puj.* 24 ; *Raj.* 52 ; *E.H.B.* App. IB ; Sig. Graff. I, App. C.

109. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1893, 7.

110. *M.* 35. 94 ; *E.M.* 35. 95 ; *Puj.* 21 ; *Raj.* 52.

111. *M.* 37. 47 : 72. 131-140 ; *Puj.* 24, 27 ; *Raj.* 52.

inscription are :—(i) Maḍukola ; (ii) Eraka ; (iii) Niḷiba ; (iv) Naka-nakara (P. Nāga-nagara), already mentioned under *Haṇḍa-gala Vihāra*; (v) Vahanikupīḍa; (vi) Acavivika; and (vii) Mayiha.¹¹⁵

The construction of Maḥaṭombuva or Māṭombu tank is ascribed to Jetṭhatissa I (263-275) and to Aggabodhi II (604-614). Aggabodhi IV (667-683) built the Māṭambiya Practising House. The names Maḥaṭombuva, Māṭombu and Māṭambiya appear to be preserved in modern *Māṭombuva Kōralē* and *Tulāna*. To the Practising House were assigned :—(i) Ambavāpi at Būkakalla ; (ii) Tantavāyikacāṭika village ; and (iii) Niṭṭhilavetṭhi village.¹¹⁶

Veluvaṇa Vihāra, also called Velunnā Vehera, in Gangaviṭa or Gaganāviṭa, was built by Aggabodhi II (604-614) and made over to the Sāgali sect. King Saṃghatissa defeated in battle east of Anurādhapura, went to Veluvaṇa Vihāra where he assumed a monk's robes : he was proceeding thence to cross the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* and escape into Rohaṇa when he was detected and seized at *Minṇēriya*. It is clear, therefore, that Veluvaṇa Vihāra was westward of *Minṇēriya* and probably in *Māṭombuva Kōralē*. In the inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) at Abhayagiri Vihāra, it is stated that he repaired the pāsāda at Viḷuvana Vihāra. Jetṭhatissa III (628) granted the Vihāra the village Kakkhalaviṭṭhi.¹¹⁷

Aggivaddhamānaka tank, also called Abhivaddhamānaka, Akvaḍunnā and Abivaḍunna, was built by Vasabha (67-111). In the *Habavana* inscription of the 3rd century, Agivaḍamana tank, present *Hirivaḍunna* tank, 1 mile from *Habavana*, is mentioned : it was donated to Sila Ceta on Abatala at Cetagiri (*Mihintalē*).¹¹⁸

Sumanavāpi or Samanvāva was 4 yojanas or 12 gav (30 to 40 miles) south-east of Anurādhapura and precious stones are said to have been found there in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137). It was probably in the *Habavana* area. Aggabodhi I (571-604) built Sumanapabbata Vihāra in Kelivāta.¹¹⁹

Koṇḍāragāma and Mahummāra or Mahāummara were close together and situated between Anurādhapura and the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*. The latter village was granted to Jayasenapabbata Vihāra, built by the queen of Udaya I (797-801) for Damiḷa bhikkhus.¹²⁰

115. *M.* 10. 72 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1893, 7.

116. *M.* 46. 19 ; *Puj.* 24, 28.

117. *M.* 42. 43 ; 44. 13-30 ; 44. 99 ; *Puj.* 28 ; *Raj.* 56 ; *E.Z.* I. 227.

118. *D.* 22. 7, 8 ; *M.* 35. 95 ; *Puj.* 21 ; *Raj.* 47 ; *A.I.C.* 61 ; *C.J.S.* II. 207 ; *E.Z.* III. 117, 179 ; IV. 126.

119. *M.* 28. 18 ; 42. 19 ; *Thv.* 162.

120. *M.* 48. 121, 156 ; 49. 24.

CHAPTER XX

THE CITY OF PULATTHINAGARA (POLONNARUVA)

The earliest lithic record of human habitation at Polonnaruva is a short cave inscription of the 1st century. The first allusion to the place in the Chronicles is a reference to the construction of the tank Tōpāvāva in the reign of Upatissa I (365-406). But its antiquity goes back to much earlier times because there are good grounds for identifying Polonnaruva, or a place very close to it, with the fortress named Vijitanagara where a decisive battle was fought about B.C. 16; between the forces of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya and the foreign ruler, Elāra. The position of Polonnaruva was one of great strategic importance since it commanded the crossings of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, the defence of which was vital against rebel forces advancing into Rājaraṭṭha from Rohaṇa : at the same time, in the event of invasion by a South Indian power, its position was distant enough to give time for the organisation and manning of the river defences so as to halt the invading forces on the river line, and, furthermore, if those defences failed, to facilitate retreat into Rohaṇa. So that it gave greater security to the king from his enemies both within and outside the kingdom.¹

The first king to found a Monastery at Polonnaruva was Aggabodhi III (628) who built the Malāpānadiṭṭha Vihāra there. Aggabodhi IV (667-683) temporarily removed the seat of government from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruva and died at Polonnaruva. This was the first of several occasions on which the kings vacated Anurādhapura and went into temporary residence at Polonnaruva on account of invasion or civil war. Hence, it came to be called Kaṇḍavura-nuvara or 'the camp-city'. Aggabodhi VII (772-777) ruled from Polonnaruva during the latter part of his reign and died there. Mahinda II (777-797) built the Samirattittha Vihāra and added a Parivena to the existing Dāma Vihāra, both at Polonnaruva. Udaya I (797-801) built a Hospital at Polonnaruva. During the reign of Sena I (833-853) the Pāṇḍyans invaded Ceylon and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sinhalese army : the king fled from Anurādhapura, and regained his throne only by surrendering all his regalia and treasure and paying a very heavy tribute, and thereafter he resided at Polonnaruva. He built there the Senaggabodhi Shrine, an adjacent Alms Hall beside Thusavāpi (Tōpāvāva), another Alms Hall in Mahānettapabbata Vihāra, and a Hospital to west of the town. Sena V (972-982) reigned at Polonnaruva during a very disturbed time. Anurādhapura continued to be the capital in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries although

1. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 100 ; *Puj.* 26 ; *Raj.* 54 ; *M.* 25. 19.

Polonnaruva was, from time to time, for military reasons, temporarily used as a royal residence.²

In 993 occurred the Cōla conquest which lasted till 1070. Ceylon became a feudatory province of the Cōla Empire and the Cōla Viceroy established his seat at Polonnaruva, which was re-named Jananāthamangalam. When, at the end of 77 years of foreign rule, Vijayabāhu I liberated the Sinhalese people, he celebrated his consecration as king at Anurādhapura, but shortly afterwards transferred the capital to Polonnaruva. Thus, in 1070 Polonnaruva replaced Anurādhapura as the capital City of Laṅkā. Vijayabāhu I walled the City and built a Palace and a Temple of the Tooth. 43 years of internal disruption followed the death of Vijayabāhu I in 1110. Then Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) united the whole Island under his sovereignty and inaugurated an era of power and prosperity which endured for half a century. His reign constitutes an epic period in Ceylon history. Though not the founder, he was certainly the builder of Polonnaruva. He enlarged and embellished the town, fortifying it securely and adding to it many new, stately buildings. Nissanka Malla (1187-1196), whose vainglorious inscriptions are so prolific at Polonnaruva, succeeded Parakkamabāhu I. He continued the constructional work of his predecessor and added to the City some of its most handsome structures. After his death began decline. In 1215 came the invader Māgha, a Kāliṅga, 'the scourge of Laṅkā', who conquered Rājaraṭṭha and ruled from Polonnaruva for 21 years, subjecting the people to wholesale pillage, plunder and oppression. This period of great tribulation was continued for 8 years after his death by his commanders. The Sinhalese monarchy established itself at Dambadeniya and began gradually to regain its lost possessions: in 1244 Polonnaruva was besieged and a decisive victory was won. But the expulsion of Māgha's followers was followed by a new conquest by the Javanese, Candabāhu, who ravaged the country anew. The Sinhalese king, Parakkamabāhu II, and his warrior son, Vijayabāhu, completely defeated Candabāhu in 1268: he celebrated a festival of consecration at Polonnaruva but neither he nor his son resided there. The capital continued to be Dambadeniya. Two invasions by the Pāṇḍyans followed: the second took place about 1283 and the Pāṇḍyans ruled from Polonnaruva for about 20 years till their own Empire fell to the Muhammadans. From 993 to 1070 Polonnaruva was the seat of the Cōla Governor of Ceylon. Sinhalese kings reigned there from 1070 to 1215, nearly 150 years. Then foreign conquerors again occupied the City till it was temporarily wrested from them in 1268 when some work of repair and restoration was attempted, but very shortly afterwards it was finally abandoned by Sinhalese rulers. Polonnaruva reached its peak of

magnificence in that period of about 50 years when Parakkamabāhu I and Nissanka Malla sat upon its Lion Throne.³

Vijayabāhu I, who became king over all Ceylon in 1070, built the first wall round the City: it was a high, strong wall with many bastions, and it was surrounded by a broad, deep moat. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) remodelled the City. A chain of walls enclosed the town on all sides. Within the outer chain were 3 walls decreasing in size. Within the innermost chain was a secondary chain of walls which enclosed the Citadel or Royal Enclosure. The walls were pierced by 14 gates. The outer chain of walls appears to have crumbled away, but the inner chain is in a fair state of preservation. The west wall was really the bund of Parakkamasamudda whose huge sheet of water protected the City on the north-west, west and south-west. The most westerly part of the City was a Promontory which projected into Parakkamasamudda and was called the Dīppūyana or 'Island Garden': on it were bathing pools, the Audience Hall, Council Chamber and other buildings, and it was territory reserved for the use of the king and the court. Adjoining it on the east was the Citadel or Royal Enclosure at the southern end of which stood the Palace. Outside the south-eastern part of the Citadel was the Nandana Park, a pleasure garden for the king. Adjacent to the Citadel on the north was the Terrace on which stood the Temple and appurtenant fanes for the Tooth Relic. The whole area to north of the Citadel for about 2 miles was occupied by Monasteries. There were no religious edifices within the walled space south and east of the Citadel. The City had 3 suburbs on the north, east and south.⁴

Dīppūyana or 'Promontory'

The Dīppūyana was laid out by Parakkamabāhu I who built within it:—(i) the Dhavalāghāra or 'White House', made entirely of stucco; (ii) the Vijjāmaṇḍapa, a Vimāna built 'to show forth the various branches of science'; (iii) the Doḷāmaṇḍapa or 'Swing Pavilion'; (iv) the Kilāmaṇḍapa or 'Sports Pavilion'; (v) the Sanimaṇḍapa or 'Pavilion of Saturn', made of ivory; (vi) the Moramaṇḍapa or 'Peacock Pavilion'; (vii) the Ādāsamaṇḍapa or 'Mirror Pavilion' whose walls were mirrored; (viii) the Singāravimāna of 4 storeys, adorned with pictures; (ix) the Anantapokkharāṇī, a pond of stone whose layers resembled the coils of the Serpent king, Ananta; and (x) the Cittāpokkharāṇī or 'Picture Pond', adorned with pictures.⁵

None of the ruins on the *Promontory* can be identified with any of the buildings or ponds mentioned above and it is evident that Parakkamabāhu's arrangement of the Dīppūyana was considerably

2. *M.* 44. 122: 46. 34-38: 48. 74: 48. 134: 49. 19: 50. 85-86: 50. 73-75: 54. 64-72: 60. 2-23: *C.J.S.* (G) II. 41.

3. *M.* Caps. 60, 73, 78, 79, 80, 88.

4. *M.* 60. 1-15: 73. 57-60, 160-163.

5. *M.* 73. 113-123; *E.Z.* II. 145, 133: IV. 43; *C.J.S.* II. 137.

altered by Nissaṅka Malla : the Chronicles contain no account of these alterations but Nissaṅka Malla's inscriptions give the purpose of two of the structures:—(i) a stone pokuṇa was ' the bathing pond where His Majesty completed the ceremony of bathing ', and (ii) the Council Chamber held the Lion Throne, the seat of the Yūvarāja, and the positions denoted by inscriptions on the pillars, occupied by the high dignitaries assembled in Council. An inscribed stone seat close by was used by Nissaṅka Malla while watching dancing and listening to music in the Kāliṅga Park : if this seat has not been moved from an original site elsewhere, it has to be assumed that the Dīppūyana was re-named the Kāliṅga Park by Nissaṅka Malla.⁶

The Citadel or Royal Enclosure

Within the Citadel or Royal Enclosure stood the king's Palace and its appurtenant buildings. Vijayabāhu I built the first Palace at Polonnaruwa. During the revolt of the Vēlaikkāras this Palace was burnt down. Parakkamabāhu I built a Palace, called the Vejayanta Palace, of 7 storeys and 1,000 apartments, magnificently decorated and equipped. Nissaṅka Malla states in one of his inscriptions:— ' having beheld the Palace which a former king had erected in 7 years and 7 months and declaring ' a Monarch like Us should live in a Palace worthy of Us ' King Nissaṅka Malla caused to be built, with incomparable magnificence, in 45 days a new Palace of 7 storeys '. Nissaṅka Malla's assertions are not all to be taken literally: we may infer here that he enlarged and embellished the Palace built by Parakkamabāhu I.

Appurtenant to the Palace, Parakkamabāhu I built:—(i) the Hemamandira, for carrying out the ceremonies of expiation by Brāhmaṇas; (ii) the Dhāraṇīghara, for recitation of magic incantations; (iii) the Maṇḍalamandira, for listening to Jātaka stories; (iv) the Pañca-sattatimandira, for reception of magic water and magic thread; (v) a Sermon House, adorned with golden Images; (vi) the Sarasatīmaṇḍapa, with golden pillars and paintings, for music and dancing; (vii) the Rājavesibhujaiṅga-maṇḍapa, 3-storeyed, surrounded by vedikās and decorated with coloured paintings: the ruins of this handsome structure survive; and (viii) the Ekattthamba Pāsāda (' One-pillar Pāsāda '), tall, ending in a makara spire and adorned with a golden chamber.

On ground adjoining the Royal Enclosure, Parakkamabāhu I laid out the Nandana Park in which were many varieties of fruit and flowering trees and the following structures:— (i) A Bath House with (?) shower-baths and a (?) fountain; (ii) a Pavilion with pillars of sandalwood, containing an octagonal maṇḍapa resembling an ear-ornament; (iii) a Maṇḍapa which had ' the charm of a wreath of serpentine wanderings '; (iv) the Silāpokkharāṇi, now called Kumārāpokkuṇa; (v) the Nandāpokkharāṇi; (vi) a Pond

6. A.S.C.A.R., 1901. II, 12 : 1900. 8, 9, 10.

holding perfumed water; (vii) the Vasanta cave; (viii) the Maṅgala-pokkharāṇi. Later, the Nandana Park was extended, re-named Lakkhuyyāna and made over to the Saṅgha: two ponds below hollow rocks were constructed for the monks to bathe in.⁷

The Tooth Relic Terrace or 'Quadrangle'

The Tooth Relic Terrace or *Quadrangle* was an elevated enclosure on which stood, according to the Chronicles and the inscriptions *in situ*, the following structures:—(i) The Daḷadāgē or Tooth Relic Temple. The first Temple of the Tooth was built by Vijayabāhu I and is the ruin now called *Vihāra No. 2*. Parakkamabāhu I built a second Daḷadāgē in the ' middle of the town ', but this was probably a temporary building for public exposition of the Relic after its recovery from the rebel queen Sugala. Nissaṅka Malla built a third Daḷadāgē of stone, said to have been completed in 60 hours: Vijayabāhu IV restored it and it is the ruin now called the *Hāṭa-dā-gē*; (ii) A splendid Pāsāda with a ' moonlight terrace ' and adorned with paintings was built in honour of the Tooth Relic by Mahinda, a high dignitary of Parakkamabāhu I: this is probably the building now called *Thūpārāma*; (iii) Nissaṅka Malla built, on the Tooth Relic Terrace the Ratnagiri Vaṭageya or Vaṭa-dā-gē, by which latter name it is still known; (iv) the Nissaṅka-latā-maṇḍapaya, so known today, was built by Nissaṅka Malla: from it he worshipped the Tooth Relic.⁸

In the area immediately outside and to north of the Tooth Relic Terrace were:—(i) a 11th century Cōla temple named *Vāṇavaṇ-mādēvi* *Īśvaramuḍaiyar*, now known as *Siva Dēvalē No. 2*; (ii) an Alms Hall named *Tribhuvanāśraya* Nissaṅka Satraya built by Nissaṅka Malla: to it was assigned the Satrodyānaya orchard whose boundaries were:—the Kāmboji gate on the south, the spill and moat on the north, the city wall on the east, and Nissaṅkasamudra (by which name Nissaṅka Malla re-named Parakkamasamudda) on the west; (iii) the Ratanavāli Thūpa or Ruvanvāli Dāgāba, now known as *Rankot Vehera*, was, according to the Chronicle, restored by Nissaṅka Malla, but that monarch in his inscription claims to have built it; and (iv) *Gopālapabbata*, a small group of rocks where a cave monastery was established in the 1st century: a 4th century inscription gives its name as *Culagala Vihara*.⁹

7. M. 60. 38 : 73. 60-70, 71-112 ; E.Z. II. 95, 55, 162 ; C.J.S. (G) II. 208 209.

8. M. 60. 1-14 : 73. 124-135 : 74. 198 : 80. 19 : 88. 10-17 ; Puj. 34 ; Raj. 60 ; E.Z. II. 89, 90, 121, 176 ; C.J.S. (G) II. 167.

9. M. 78. 65 : 80. 20 ; Puj. 34 ; E.Z. II. 136, 141 ; A.S.C.A.R., 1906., 26, 27 : 1909, 27 : 1911-12, 100.

Ālāhana Pariveṇa

Parakkamabāhu I built the large monastery named the Ālāhana Pariveṇa. Its limits were marked by 10 boundary stones and it comprised :—(i) the Laṅkātilaka Image House of 5 storeys, decorated with figures of flowers, creepers, gods and brāhmas and enclosing a colossal, standing Image of the Buddha. Vijayabāhu IV restored the building. Its ruins still bear the same name; (ii) Rūpavati Thūpa built by queen Rūpavati of Parakkamabāhu I : this is probably the present *Kiri-vehera*; (iii) Subhaddā Cetiya; (iv) the Baddhasīmā Pāsāda, the Uposatha House of the Monastery, of 12 storeys, with turrets, apartments, halls and cells : its ruins have been conserved; (v) Khaṇḍasīmā, a sacred space; (vi) a Pāsāda, for the Mahāthera, of 3 storeys; and (vii) several other appurtenant and subsidiary buildings.¹⁰

The Northern Monasteries

To north of the Ālāhana Pariveṇa were :—(i) Uttarārāma, now called *Galvihāra*, built by Parakkamabāhu I by breaking down the rock near the Mahāthūpa or Damiḷa Thūpa and constructing 3 caves, (a) the Vijjādhara cave, (b) the cave with the Sedent Image, and (c) the cave with the Recumbent Image; (ii) Mahāthūpa or Damiḷa Thūpa, to build which Parakkamabāhu employed Damiḷa prisoners-of-war : it was intended to be the largest thūpa in Ceylon, but the original plan was abandoned and a disproportionate dome was superimposed on the vast basal terraces : it is now known as *Unagala-vehera*; (iii) Jetavanārāma, the largest monastic establishment at Polonnaruva, built by Parakkamabāhu I. It comprised :—(a) the Tivaṅka Image House for the Tivaṅka Image, now popularly known as *Demala-mahāsāya*; (b) a beautiful, circular Temple of stone for the Tooth Relic: this is the circular ruin to south of the Tivaṅka Image House; (c) 8 stone ponds, of which 4 are named :—Vaṭṭanahānakoṭṭha, Guhānahānakoṭṭha, Padumanahānakoṭṭha, the present *Lotus Bath*, and Bhaddanahānakoṭṭha; (d) a vast Pāsāda for the Mahāthera Sāriputta; and (e) several other smaller buildings. The Nammadā canal branched off from the Candabhāga canal by the corner of Jetavanārāma.¹¹

Other Structures

Nissaṅka Malla built the Prīti-dānaka-maṇḍapaya near the north end of the tank, and close to it the Nissaṅka-dāna-vinoda-maṇḍapaya.

10. *M.* 78. 48-70; *N.S.* 21; *Puj.* 34; *A.S.M.* II. 11; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 161; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1911-12, 81, 82.

11. *M.* 78. 31-47, 74-78; *N.S.* 21; *Puj.* 34; *Raj.* 59; *A.S.M.* II. 16; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 161; *E.Z.* II. 273; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1907, 7, 34; 1940-45, 30.

He also built the Nissaṅka Vihāra, which appears to be the same as Poḷonnaru Vihāra, and 3 Alms Halls named Brāhmaṇasatra, Baudellhasatra and Bahujanasatra.¹²

Parakkamabāhu I also built :—(i) Kapila or Kapilavastu Vihāra; (ii) Dakṣiṇārāma; (iii) Pacchimārāma; (iv) the Suḷuvādēnigē of gold; (v) Purvārāma; (vi) Ātubadalena Vihāra; (vii) Isipatana Vihāra in the Rājavesibhujaṅga suburb; (viii) Kusinārā Vihāra in the Sīhapura suburb; (ix) Veḷuvana Vihāra in the Vijita suburb; and (x) between the Palace and the 3 suburbs, at each gāvuta (about 2 miles), a Vihāra with Sermon and Image Houses.¹³

12. *M.* 80. 21; *Raj.* 60; *E.Z.* II. 124, 174, 178; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1902, 8-10.

13. *M.* 73. 151-154; 78. 71-73, 79-80, 92-95; *N.S.* 21; *Puj.* 34; *Raj.* 59.

CHAPTER XXI

THE POLONNARUVA DISTRICT

Several places in this district have already been enumerated under Chapter III.

Vijitagama or Vijitanagara or Vijitapura was a settlement said to have been founded by one of Vijaya's Ministers, but a later tradition is that its founder was one of the brothers-in-law of Paṇḍuvāsudeva: the older Chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa*, does not name Vijita as one of the latter. Bhaddakaccānā and her companions, who are said to have landed about this time at the mouth of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, were on their way to Upatissagāma (a yojana north of Anurādhapura) when they were met at Vijitanagara by the Sinhalese Ministers: therefore, Vijitanagara was between Anurādhapura and the east coast. After Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, about B.C. 163, had reduced the many forts held by Elāra's troops along the line of the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* from Mahiyaṅga to the sea, 'all the Daṃḷas on the bank of the river who had escaped destruction threw themselves for protection into the city named Vijitanagara'. It is evident that if Vijitanagara was the present *Vijitapura*, near *Kalāvāva*, Elāra's retreat from the river to this place would have uncovered and opened the way to the capital, Anurādhapura, which was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's objective. Vijitanagara, where the fiercest resistance was offered by Elāra's troops, was, obviously, the key-fortress supporting the numerous small forts along the defended river line and the main obstacle to progress beyond the river towards Anurādhapura. Opposite Vijitanagara, that is, between it and the river, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi pitched camp in open country to organise the assault on the fortress, and the camping place came to be known as Khandhavārapitṭhi or Kaṇḍamunna; it is further stated that after crossing the river Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had his meal at Battabhut-tavalāhaka or Batbunnātoṭa and then proceeded to Khandhavārapitṭhi: therefore, Khandhavārapitṭhi must have been a few miles from the river. In Sinhalese literature, Polonnaruva is sometimes referred to as Kaṇḍavuru-nuvara, 'the Camp-City'. A suburb of Polonnaruva named Vijita is mentioned in the reign of Parakkamabāhu I. Vijita, the 12th century suburb of Polonnaruva, Khandhavārapitṭhi which was Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's camp in front of Vijitanagara, and Kaṇḍavuru-nuvara, the early name for Polonnaruva, are all associated with Vijitanagara, and Parker, Storey, Codrington and Paranavitana are undoubtedly right in locating Vijitanagara at or very near the later Polonnaruva. Near Khandhavārapitṭhi was Hatthipora.¹

1. *D.* 9. 10 : 10. 1-6; *M.* 7. 45 : 25. 19, 21-23, 47, 70 : 73. 152 : 78. 87; *E.M.* 25. 47; *M.T.* 272, 16; *N.S.* 26; *Puj.* 2; *Raj.* 21; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 146; *C.A.* X. 52; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, 227-238; Codrington, *Short History*, 20, 32.

After the capture of Vijitanagara, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi advanced to Girilaka, also called Girinil-nuvara and Girinillankada, and fought a successful action there. (Girinela-vāhanaka Vihāra, to the north of Kaṇḍanagara or Kāndara, was built by Sūratissa early in 2nd B.C.). Earlier, Paṇḍukābhaya, on his eastward march from Kāsāpabbata, went to Girikanda and then crossed the river. Aggabodhi II (604-614) built Giritata or Giritālā or Giritālaka tank and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored it: this is present *Giritālē* tank. In all probability, all these variants stand for the same place, modern *Giritālē*. Between Girikaṇḍa and the river, on Paṇḍukābhaya's line of march, were (i) Kalahanagara, very probably present *Kalahagala*, 8 miles south of Polonnaruva, and (ii) Lohitavāhakhaṇḍa.²

Badaravalli was between Mayūrapāsāṇa, a ford on the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*, and Polonnaruva, closer to the latter.³

Koṇdivata was between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva.⁴

Dūratissakavāpi Vihāra was built by Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119). Mahāsena's (275-301) rebel Minister, after collecting troops in Malaya, advanced towards Anurādhapura and camped at Dūratissakavāpi. Mahānāga (569-571) granted to the ascetics a thousand fields irrigated by Dūratissakavāpi. Udaya I (797-801) was at *Miṇṇēriya* when he heard that the border land was in rebellion. His son and general, who were sent to quell the rebellion, joined the rebels. The king then advanced to Dūratissa, defeated the rebels there and proceeded to Polonnaruva. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Dūratissa tank. This tank was in the *Dambulla-Sīgiriya-Giritālē* area.⁵

Tissavaḍḍhamānaka district was in the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha, and in it Vasabha (67-111) built the Mucela Vihāra. Mahāsena (275-301) built Tissavaḍḍhamānaka tank, also called Rattisa or Ranniya. In the *Mādirigiriya* inscription of Kassapa V (914-923) the site is said to be in Rantisā. Parakkamabāhu I (1163-1186) repaired Suvaṇṇatissa tank. Nissaṅka Malla (1187-1196) declared Rantisā tank a sanctuary for animals. Codrington has correctly equated Tissavaḍḍhamānaka tank with Rantisā tank, the present, breached *Kavuḍulla-vāva*, 6 miles north of *Miṇṇēriya*. The Rantisā sub-district was the area around *Kavuḍulla* and *Mādirigiriya*: it was part of a larger division known as Bidervatukuliya (Bijervatu-kulī in the Sīgiri Graffiti) which extended over the greater part of the northern half of *Sinhala Pattuva*.⁶

2. *M.* 10. 27-44 : 21. 6 : 25. 47 : 42. 67 : 70. 311, 312 : 79. 33; *E.M.* 21. 6; *N.S.* 26; *Puj.* 28; *Raj.* 40.

3. *M.* 72. 96.

4. *M.* 50. 31.

5. *M.* 33. 19 : 37. 17-19 : 41. 99 : 49. 5-9 : 79. 32.

6. *M.* 35. 48 : 37. 48 : 79. 32; *M.T.* 652; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 52; *E.Z.* II. 32, 142; Codrington, *S.H.*, 34.

In Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka district, Kanitṭha Tissa (167-186) built an Uposatha House. The son of Aggabodhi IV (667-683) built there a costly Dhātugeha or Vaṭa-dā-gē for the Cetiya. Sena II (853-887) granted the Vihāra villages. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored the Vihāra. The Cūlavamsa states that the 12th century treaty between Gajabāhu II and Parakkamabāhu was engraved on a natural rock at Maṇḍaligiri Vihāra: this epigraph has not yet been discovered but a copy of it has been found at Saṅgamu Vihāra in Kurunāgala district. Nissaṅka Malla visited Maṇḍiligiri Vihāra. The ruins are now known as *Mādirigiriya* Vihāra, a beautiful site 10 miles north-east of *Minṇēriya*.⁷

Maṇihira tank and Vihāra, also called Miṇihiri, Miṇihoru and Minṇēriya, present *Minṇēriya*, were built by Mahāsena (275-301). The Sinhalese Chronicles say that Mahāsena dammed the Kara Gaṅga and brought the water to *Minṇēriya* tank along the Talavatu canal. The Kara Gaṅgā is mentioned in the Pāli Chronicles much later: Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) dammed it and conveyed water along the Ākāsa Gaṅgā (present *Angamādilla-āla*) to Parakkamasamudda at Polonnaruva. The Mahāvamsa states that the Ālisāra canal (present *Ālīhāra* canal) was in existence in the reign of Vasabha (67-111), two centuries before Mahāsena, and that shares in it were assigned to Mucela Vihāra which was near the present *Kavudulla* tank: therefore the Ālisāra canal must have existed before the *Minṇēriya* and *Kavudulla* tanks were built. Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Tilavatthuka canal and filled Maṇihira tank once again: the name Tilavatthuka or Talavatu is preserved in present *Talvatura Ova* which flows into *Minṇēriya* tank. Apparently the Tilavatthuka canal was that branch of the main Ālisāra canal which fed *Minṇēriya* tank. Tālavatthu Vihāra, probably also known as Mahāsena Vihāra, was restored by Mānavamma (684-718): this Vihāra, in all probability, was close to the Tilavatthuka or Talavatu canal. Sena II (853-887) made a grant to Mahāsena Vihāra, and Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored the Vihāra. Mānavamma (684-718) granted the village Paṇṇabhadda to Tālavatthu Vihāra. Dhātusena (455-473) built Paṇṇavallakabhūta Vihāra, and in Paṇṇasālaka Queen Kalyāṇavatī (1202-1208) built Kalyāṇavatī Vihāra. Sena II (853-887) built a sluice on *Minṇēriya* tank. Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored *Minṇēriya* tank and made the canal named Kālindī which flowed south from the tank's southern outlet. Nissaṅka Malla declared the tank a sanctuary for animals.⁸

Pañca Vihāra was 7 to 12 miles westward of Polonnaruva and was probably the same as Pañcapariveṇamūla restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110).⁹

7. *M.* 36. 17: 46. 29: 60. 58; *E.Z.* II. 27, 177: IV. 1.

8. *M.* 35. 84: 37. 40, 47: 38. 47: 42. 34: 48. 8: 51. 72, 76: 60. 53, 62: 79. 31. 54: 80: 36; *Puj.* 24; *Raj.* 51, 52; *E.Z.* II. 142; *C.J.S.* (G) II. 208; *C.H.J.* IV. 52.

9. *M.* 67. 61: 72. 114-120.

Near and eastward of Kālapilla was Madhukavanagaṇṭhi: both places were between Polonnaruva and Koṭṭhasāra. Tiṇimakulla was north-west of Polonnaruva.¹⁰

Parisā-kūliya in Pādumpasa (the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha) was a sub-district in the 10th century extending over the *Giritale* area: in it was the land Purmigāṇa.¹¹

Andugāma was a village close to Polonnaruva.¹²

Mahalāgama is mentioned in a 10th century inscription at Polonnaruva.¹³

Thusavāpi, also called Toyavāpi and Tōpāvāva, present *Tōpāvāva*, is ascribed to Upatissa I (365-406): near it, presumably, was the village Thusavaṭṭhika.¹⁴

The construction of Gāṭupvāva is ascribed to Mahāsena (275-301). In an inscription of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) at *Anaolandāva* tank, 2½ miles north of Polonnaruva, the length of the tank bund is given as 1135 riyan. The Sigiri Graffiti mention Gāḍubavana. The Geṭṭhumba canal was assigned by Mahinda III (801-804) to Abhaya-giri Vihāra at Anurādhapura.¹⁵

In Kulālitissa Vihāra, also called Kuṇḍalatissa and Kuṭelitissa, Vohārika Tissa (209-231) erected a parasol. It is apparently identical with Kūṭatissa Vihāra endowed by Sena I (833-853). An inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) at Polonnaruva (exact provenance uncertain) mentions Kuḷu-tis-rad (P. Kūṭatissa) Mahāvihāra of the Mahāvihāra Nikāya and states that Kiṇigama monastery in Pādumpasa (the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha) belongs to it: Demel Kiṇigam, doubtless a part of Kiṇigama, and a neighbouring canal are also mentioned. Kiṇigama was close to the river. There is a modern *Kiṇigama*, 1 mile south of *Pallēgama*, in *Laggala Pallēsiya Pattu*.¹⁶

Muhundnaruva in the eastern division of Rājaraṭṭha and Muhundehigama are mentioned in two inscriptions, of Mahinda IV (956-972) and Sena I (831-851) respectively, at Polonnaruva. Muhundnaruva is doubtless identical with Muhunnaruva, one of the fords on the river.¹⁷

'The second, and much larger, Parakkamasamudda "that King of reservoirs", is given pride of place in the Chronicle in the list of irrigation works of Parakkamabāhu's reign. It was formed "by

10. *M.* 70. 285, 325.

11. *E.Z.* III. 141.

12. *M.* 59. 5.

13. *C.J.S.* (G) I. 173.

14. *M.* 37. 124: 50. 73; *Puj.* 26; *Raj.* 54.

15. *M.* 49. 41; *Puj.* 24; *C.J.S.* (G) I. 173; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

16. *M.* 36. 33: 51. 74; *E.M.* 36. 33; *E.H.B.* 66, 111; *E.Z.* II. 56.

17. *E.Z.* III. 294: IV. 66; *Raj.* 37.

damming the Kāra Gaṅgā by a great dam between the hills and bringing its mighty flood of water hither by means of a vast canal called the Ākāsa Gaṅgā". The identity of the ancient Parakkamasamudda with the present, restored reservoir at Polonnaruva to which the same name has been given, admits of no doubt. King Nissanka Malla, as he was wont to do, re-named it Nissankasamudra, but neither this name nor the name which Parakkamabāhu gave it endured, except in literature. Before the modern restoration commenced, there were two separate tanks, *Tōpāvāva* at Polonnaruva and *Dumbutuluvāva* further south, but the ancient bund, though breached and eroded in places, was continuous. It is clear from the Chronicle, too, in which 4 channels which issued from the great tank are stated to have passed close to specified sites outside the walled City, that Parakkamasamudda was at Polonnaruva. The remains of the headworks and of the feeder canal therefrom (also now restored) proved that the dam at *Āngamādilla* on the *Amban Gaṅga* and the *Āngamādilla* channel which conducted the water diverted by the dam, were the main source by which Parakkamasamudda was formerly filled. As Codrington and Hocart concluded, the Kāra Gaṅgā is the *Amban Gaṅga* and the Ākāsa Gaṅgā the *Āngamādilla* channel. The Pūjāvaliya states that king Mahāsena "dammed the Kara Gaṅga to supply water to Minihirivāva": the reference here is to the dam on the *Amban Gaṅga* at *Ālahāra*. The *Amban Gaṅga* was, therefore, known as the Kara Gaṅga in ancient and medieval times. Some 10 miles further up the river the districts through which it flowed were called *Ambavaṇa* and *Sūra-ambavana* in the 12th century, and even today a part of this region is known as *Ambana*: the older name, Kara Gaṅga appears to have been replaced by *Amban Gaṅga* in comparatively recent times. Its main tributary is now known as *Kalu Gaṅga* which is an equivalent for Kara Gaṅga. The *Kalu Ganga* was dammed at *Hattoṭa* (near *Pallēgama*) at an elevation of 500 feet and the water was conveyed northward along a canal, now ruined, which appears to come to an abrupt termination after about 16 miles. The local tradition is that this canal formerly continued a further 12 miles and entered the *Amban Gaṅga* just above the *Ālahāra* anicut, but only one short length of the old bund is now recognisable on the ground in this section. Brohier conjectures that over this section which is 'particularly rugged and broken up by parcels of precipitous country—the water was carried over these rocky ledges in a series of aqueducts of which all traces have vanished'. If the tradition is true, then the *Hattoṭa Amuna*, some 30 miles above *Ālahāra*, was the source of the *Minṇēriya-Giritālē-Kavuḍulla-Kantalāy* irrigation system, and, as will be shown later, a subsidiary source for the Parakkamasamudda system.

The Chronicle gives the names of 7 sluices on Parakkamasamudda and of 11 channels which led water away from it: these bear the names of ancient and sacred places in India and appear to be honorific. It is also stated that two canals issued from the tank *Toyavāpi*. *Toyavāpi* (*Tōpāvāva*) is also called *Thusavāpi*, and, according to the Sinhalese

Chronicles, was built by a 4th century king: when Parakkamasamudda was completed *Tōpāvāva* would have been absorbed by it, but the old name was apparently retained for the uppermost portion of the great, new reservoir.

Parakkamasamudda had a subsidiary source of water supply from the north-west by channel from *Giritālākavāpi* (*Giritālē*) through two intervening tanks named *Kaddūraṇṇadhamānaka* or *Kaduruvaḍunna* (probably present, breached *Dāmbalavāva*) and *Arimaddavijayagāma* (probably present, also breached *Divulānakaḍavalavāva*). This link connected and united two gigantic irrigation systems, both originating in the *Amban Gaṅga*, the older system with headworks at *Ālahāra* (? or *Hattoṭa*) and including *Minṇēriya*, *Giritālē*, *Kavuḍulla* and *Kantalāy* tanks, and the later system with headworks at *Āngamādilla* and including Parakkamasamudda and the network of channels and smaller tanks under it. The mingling of the waters of different rivers, flowing in different directions, by artificial connections is one of the most impressive features of the ancient Sinhalese irrigation system.

There were two other large tanks which bore the king's name. One was *Parakkamatālaka*: the scanty information available about it does not admit of its identification. The other was *Parakkamasāgara* or *Matisāgara* which, like Parakkamasamudda, was filled by the waters of the Kāra Gaṅgā (*Amban Gaṅga*) by means of a canal named *Godāvarī*. From the Ākāsa Gaṅga a branch flowed far to the northward and this branch was, in all probability, the *Godāvarī* canal. *Parakkamasāgara* appears, therefore, to have been a reservoir situated to the north of Polonnaruva, between Parakkamasamudda and the *Minṇēri Oya*.

Of the 29 canals mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* as having been constructed by Parakkamabāhu I, the Pūjāvaliya mentions only one, *Aciravatī*. This canal took off from the *Mahavāli Gaṅga* westward, and it had 4 branches which flowed eastward (towards the river): from the point at which the *Aciravatī* canal originated, another canal, named *Gomatī*, flowed eastward to east of the river and it had a branch which flowed northward. The site of the dam from which these two canals took off to right and left is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile upstream of the island in the river now called *Kālīṅga nuvara*. The left bank channel, *Aciravatī*, is now known as *Kālīṅga Yōdi-āla*.¹⁸

The Pūjāvaliya gives the name *Mahāsamudra* to the Parakkamasamudda at Polonnaruva. The canal system associated with Parakkamasamudda is described and named in the *Cūlavamsa* as follows:—(i) *Gambhīrā* canal, from the *Makara* sluice; (ii) *Hemavatī* canal, which flowed from the main reservoir in the direction of the *Mahāmeghavaṇa* park; (iii) *Nilavāhinī* canal, from the *Mālatipuppha* sluice;

18. 'The Irrigation Works of Parakkamabāhu I', C.H.J. IV. 52.

(iv) Salaṣavati canal, from the Kilākaruyyāna sluice; (v) Vettavati canal, from the Vettavati sluice; (vi) Tuṅgabaddā canal, from the Dakkhina sluice; (vii) Maṅgalagaṅgā canal, from the Maṅgalagaṅgā sluice; (viii) Campā canal, from the sluice near the Caṇḍi Gate; (ix) Candabhāga canal, which flowed through the Lakkhuyyāna garden; (x) Nammadā canal, which branched off by the corner of the Jetavana Vihāra; (xi) Sarasvatī canal, which flowed from Toyavāpi and led to Puṇṇavaddhanavāpi; (xii) Veṇumatī canal, which flowed from the west side of Toyavāpi; (xiii) Yanuṇa canal, which flowed west from Puṇṇavaddhana tank; (xiv) Sarabhū canal, which flowed north from Puṇṇavaddhana tank; (xv) Nerañjarā canal which flowed north; (xvi) Bhagīrathī canal, which started from Anotattavāpi; (xvii) Āvattagaṅgā canal, which flowed south from Anotattavāpi; (xviii) Tambapaṇṇi canal, which flowed north from Ambālavāpi; (xix) Kāverī canal, which conveyed water from Giritaḷākavāpi (present *Giritaḷēvāva*) to Kaddūravaḍḍhamānakavāpi, also called Kaduruvaḍḍunnā; (xx) Somavatī canal, which flowed from Kaddūravaḍḍhamānakavāpi to Arimaddavijayaggāmvāpi. The Aciravatī canal flowed westward from the *Mahavāli Gaṅga*; from it branched eastward the Gomatī, Sataruddhā, Nibbindā, Dhavalā and Sīdā canals, and northward the Malāpaharaṇi canal.

CHAPTER XXII

UNIDENTIFIED PLACES IN RAJARĀṬṬHA

Ratanākara-raṭṭha was a district in Dakkhinadesa. To Unnavallī Vihāra, Aggabodhi I (574-604) granted the 'far-famed' village of Ratana. The queen of Aggabodhi II (604-614) built the Ratana Vihāra for the queen of Kāliṅga who, with the king and a minister, came to Ceylon as refugees.¹

Sitthagāma Pariveṇa was in Dakkhinadesa.²

Utarala or Uttarāla tank in Dakkhinadesa was built by Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119) and restored by Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186).³

The village Bodhisenapabbata was in Dakkhinadesa.⁴

Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored in Dakkhinadesa:—(i) Sareheru tank; (ii) Dīghavatthuka tank; and (iii) Paragāmaka Vihāra.⁵

Parakkamabāhu restored the following tanks in Dakkhinadesa:—(i) Kaṭunṇarū tank, built by Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119) and previously restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110); (ii) Chātunnata tank; (iii) Pāṭala tank; (iv) Mālavallī tank, also called Mālavallīya; (v) Kittakaṇḍaka tank; (vi) Jallibāva tank; (vii) Dhavalaviṭṭhika-gāma tank; (viii) Naḷannaru tank; (ix) Udumbaragāma tank; (x) Mūlavārika tank; (xi) Polonnarutala tank; and (xii) Visirātthala tank.⁶

Ujjeni was a settlement founded by one of Vijaya's Ministers: it is not mentioned again. Rāmagona was a settlement founded by one of the brothers-in-law of Paṇḍuvāsudeva. Kaṇṭṭha Tissa (1167-1186) built Rāmagonaka Vihāra, near which was Rāmaka or Rāmuka or Rammakārāma Vihāra built by Gajabāhu I (1114-1136).⁷

Devānampiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207) built Colakatissa Vihāra: the Commentaries mention Coraka Mahāvihāra and Corakaṇḍaka Vihāra.⁸

Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119) built the following tanks and Vihāras:—(i) Kallakāleṇa Vihāra, also called Kālaleṇa, Kallahāleṇa, and

1. *M.* 42. 18, 47: 69. 31.

2. *M.* 54. 6, 35.

3. *M.* 68. 47; *Puj.* 18.

4. *M.* 61. 33.

5. *M.* 60. 48-60.

6. *M.* 60. 49: 68. 43-50: 70. 67; *Puj.* 18.

7. *D.* 22. 14; *M.* 7. 45: 9. 9: 35. 122: 36. 14; *M.T.* 659; *Puj.* 2.

8. *D.* 17. 91; *E.H.B.*, App. IB.

Kallaka Mahāvihāra; (ii) Pettangavālika Vihāra; (iii) Nāpiyoba tank; (iv) Sōdigamuva tank; (v) Kāṇḍala tank; and (vi) Mahagurunalē tank.⁹

Ukkanagara or Ukkānāgara Vihāra existed in 2nd B.C. and there were 700 monks there. A place Uṇhānagara or Huṇannaru is mentioned later: the Sigiri Graffiti name Huṇaru-bim.¹⁰

Ministers of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 89-77) built Saliyārāma and Devāgāra Vihāras. The village of Kupikkala mentioned in this king's reign was also known as Kemgalla.¹¹

Mahācūli Mahātissa (B.C. 77-65) built Vaṅkāvaṭṭakagalla or Vaṅgāvaṭṭakagalla Vihāra.¹²

Vihāras existing in 1st B.C. or 1st A.C. were:—(i) Korāṇḍaka; (ii) Kolita: close to it was Potaliya Vihāra; (iii) Tālapitthika; (iv) Vajagaragiri; (v) Khaṇḍacela, in which was the Meditation House named Kaṇikāra; (vi) Dīpa or Dibba; and (vii) Sudhāmuṇḍaka.¹³

The sub-district Ullabbhakola-kaṇṇikā was probably 5 yojanas distant from *Mihintalē*. The district Muggāyatana-raṭṭha was a division of Rājaraṭṭha and in it was a village of fishermen.¹⁴

In Kumbhigallaka Vihāra, Vasabha (67-111) built an Uposatha House. This king built the following tanks:—(i) Kālīkolomnā or Kālanīkolonna; (ii) Kaḷusimbaḷa; (iii) Makulumuṅguṇu or Makulla; (iv) Rājuppala or Ratuppala or Raduppala: Upātissa I (365-406) is also credited with the construction of this tank; (v) Mahārāmetti; and (vi) Cambuṭi, also called Jambuṭi and Cambuṭṭhi: Upātissa I built Ambuṭṭhi tank.¹⁵

Mahāllaka Nāga (136-143) founded:—(i) Tanaveli Vihāra, also called Tānavela and Cānavela, in Bījagāma; and (ii) Goṭapabbata Vihāra, also called Koṭipabbata and Goṭapāsāṇapabbata, to south of Anurādhapura.¹⁶

Bhātikatissa (143-167) built:—(i) Bhātivaṅka Vihāra, also called Bhātikatissa and Bhātiyavaṅka; and (ii) Randhakaṇḍaka Vihāra, also called Karaṇḍakaṇḍa.¹⁷

Nandatissa-ārāma was built by Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186). Bhūtārāma existed in this king's reign, but in a later passage he is said to have built it: Aggabodhi VIII (804-815) built Bhūta Pariveṇa.¹⁸

Dassamālinī-ārāma was founded by Vohārika Tissa (209-231) who also restored Kappukagāma Vihāra.¹⁹

Jeṭṭhatissa I (263-275) built the following tanks and Vihāras:—(i) Ālambagāma tank; (ii) Heluggamuva tank; (iii) Dematāva tank; (iv) Pisannāva tank; (v) Vaḍugamuva tank; (vi) Bamuṇugamuva tank; Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Brāhmaṇaggāma tank; (vii) Pādāla Piriveṇa, also called Pālangiriya; and (viii) Eḷagal or Eḷugal Vihāra.²⁰

Mahāsena (275-301) built the following tanks:—(i) Cīravāpi, also called Sirivalāssa and Siruvāla: Mahānāga (569-571) granted Cīramātīkavāra canal to the Mahāvihāra; (ii) Mahāgāmaṇvāpi; (iii) Mahādāragallakavāpi, also called Madaragal: a 6th century inscription at Abhayagiri Vihāra names a resident of Mahadaragala: Jeṭṭhatissa III (628) granted Mahādāragiri to Abhayagiri Vihāra; Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored Mahādāragalla tank; (iv) Sakurumboru or Puskumbura; (v) Belpiṭiya or Belipiṭiya; (vi) Ponnāva; and (vii) Soragalla.²¹

Mahāsena (275-301) also built the following Vihāras:—(i) Gaṅgāsenakapabbata; (ii) Migagāma or Muvagamuvā, also described as a tank; and (iii) Huḷapiṭṭhi or Cūlapiṭṭhi or Cūlaviṭṭhi Vihāra.²²

Upātissa I (365-406) built:—(i) Palāvatu Piriveṇa, later ascribed to Dāthopātissa I: it is identical with the Sākavatthu Vihāra of Kassapa II (650-659): the Sigiri Graffiti mention Palāvatu-vehera and Palāvatu-vela; (ii) Gijjhakūṭavāpi; (iii) Pokkharapāsāyavāpi; (iv) Valāhassavāpi, also called Siravalāskāṭiya: Aggabodhi II (604-614) is also credited with it: Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored it.²³

Mahānāma (406-428) built and presented to Abhayagiri Vihāra:—(i) Lohadvāra Vihāra; (ii) Ralaggāma Vihāra; and (iii) Koṭipassāvana Vihāra: Dhātusena (455-473) is also credited with this last.²⁴

Chattaggāhaka tank was built by the usurper (428).²⁵

9. D. 20. 2; M. 33. 8; E.M. 33. 7; Puj. 18; E.H.B., App. IB.

10. M. 32. 54; Thv. 213; Puj. 30; Raj. 57.

11. M. 33. 49, 67, 90; N.S. 11.

12. M. 34. 9; E.M. 34. 9.

13. E.H.B. 76, 83, 84, 122, 124, 128, 137.

14. E.H.B. 85; E.Z. III. 93.

15. D. 22. 7, 8; M. 35. 86, 93-95; 37. 185; E.M. 35. 95; Puj. 21; Raj. 46, 47.

16. M. 35. 124, 125; E.M. 35. 125; M.T. 657; E.H.B. 70.

17. M. 30. 46; 36. 4; E.M. 36. 4; M.T. 606.

18. M. 36. 7, 14; 49. 46.

19. D. 22. 37-45; M. 36. 29.

20. M. 36. 131; 79. 32; Puj. 24; Raj. 51.

21. M. 37. 47, 49; 41. 100; 44. 95; 60. 50; 79. 32; Puj. 24; Raj. 52; E.Z. IV. 141.

22. M. 37. 41, 43; E.M. 37. 48; M.T. 684; Puj. 24; Raj. 52.

23. M. 37. 185; 42. 67; 44. 135; 60. 50; 79. 36; Puj. 26, 28, 29; Raj. 54, 56.

24. M. 37. 212; 38. 46.

25. M. 39. 3.

The following Vihāras are ascribed to Dhātusena (455-473):—(i) Vaḍḍha: Parakkamabāhu I restored Vaḍḍhana tank; (ii) Antaramegiri; (iii) Kassipitṭhikadhātusena or Kassipitṭhikapubbaka; (iv) Attālhidhātusena; and (v) Bhallātaka, also called Badulu: earlier, Badulu Vihāra was ascribed to Deṭutissa: Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) restored Bhallātaka Vihāra.²⁶

Dhātusena also built the following tanks:—(i) Pādūlaka; (ii) Hambatṭhi (cf. Ambutṭhi); (iii) Kaḷunnaru: this tank is later attributed to Aggabodhi II (604-614) and the name occurs in a 10th century inscription; (iv) Danavallā; (v) Udanviṭi; (vi) Kitiniṇi; (vii) Maḥaḍabarā; (viii) Malāsu; and (ix) Mahanidel.²⁷

Aggabodhi I (571-604) built Bhinnorudīpa Vihāra and granted to it the village Vattakārapitṭhi. In Kārapitṭhi, Moggallāna III (614-619) built Moggallāna Vihāra.²⁸

Aggabodhi II (604-614) built:—(i) Jamburantaragalla Vihāra; (ii) Mātikapitṭhi Vihāra; (iii) a Practising House for the king of Kāliṅga in Mattapabbata Vihāra; (iv) Hovatu tank; and (v) Kāngomu tank.²⁹

Moggallāna III (614-619) built Piṭṭhigāma Vihāra and Vaṭagāma Vihāra.³⁰

To Gangāmāti Vihāra, Jeṭṭhatissa III (628) assigned the village Keheta.³¹

Bodhitissa Vihāra and the Pariveṇas named Mahākanda, Culla-pantha and Sehālauparājaka were built in the reign of Aggabodhi IV (667-683).³²

Mānavamma (684-718) built the following Vihāras:—(i) Girinagara Vihāra in Devapālī: the Sigiri Graffiti mention Galnaru; (ii) Rājamātika Vihāra for the ascetics; (iii) the Siripāsāda in Sirisamghabodhi Vihāra; (iv) Rājiniḍipika Vihāra for the Dhammaruci sect; (v) Vādūmula Piriveṇa; (vi) Aḷagiri Piriveṇa; (vii) Satvāliya Piriveṇa; and (viii) Uturu Piriveṇa.³³

Mahārājaghara Vihāra existed in the reign of Aggabodhi VI (733-772).³⁴

Aggabodhi VII (772-777) built:—(i) Vāpārani Vihāra; (ii) Mānaggabodhi Vihāra; and (iii) Mallavāta Vihāra. He improved Punapitṭhi Vihāra. Vāṇijagāma Vihāra existed in his reign.³⁵

Udaya I (797-801) granted (i) Mahāmaga village to an Image House at Anurādhapura; (ii) Kāḷussa village to Nīlārāma monastery; and (iii) Ārāmssa village to an Image House. At Paḍāvi he built a hospital. He endowed Nāgavaḍḍhana Vihāra. In Ambuyyāna Vihāra he built the Dappulapabbata House: Sena I (833-853) completed Dappulapabbata Vihāra.³⁶

Kālūla Vihāra was endowed by Aggabodhi VIII (804-815), and Lāvarāvapabbata Vihāra was repaired by Dappula II (815-831).³⁷

Aggabodhi IX (831-833) granted to the smaller Vihāras at Anurādhapura the villages:—(i) Kanṭhapitṭhi, an important village; (ii) Yābālagāma; and (iii) Telagāma.³⁸

Sena II (853-887) built an Image House in Sobhha Vihāra.³⁹

Savāraka Vihāra was built by Kassapa IV (898-914) and handed over to the Mahāvihāra.⁴⁰

Huligam Piriveṇa is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972).⁴¹

Haṇḍinnarugama is mentioned in a 10th century inscription.⁴²

Gallakapītha village is mentioned in early times. Cīvaragumba monastery was also ancient: bathing tanks were built at Cīvaracetiya and Kappāsagāma.⁴³

Samghātāgāma was granted to the ascetics.⁴⁴

Sītalaggāma cave temple was restored by Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110).⁴⁵

Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186) restored the following tanks:—(i) Ekāhavāpi; (ii) Mahānavāpi; (iii) Madaguvāpi; (iv) Vīravāpi; (v) Suramānavāpi; (vi) Kāhallivāpi; and (vii) Tālaggallakavāpi.⁴⁶

In Nissaṅka Malla's (1186-1193) inscriptions the following towns are mentioned:—(i) Sonaya; (ii) Nissaṅkapura; and (iii) Srivāsapura.⁴⁷

In addition to the grants already mentioned as made to the Vihāras in the City of Anurādhapura, the following unidentified places

26. *M.* 38. 46-50 : 60. 60 : 79. 36 ; *Puj.* 24. 27.

27. *M.* 38. 50 ; *Puj.* 27. 28 ; *E.Z.* II. 218.

28. *M.* 42. 46 : 44. 50.

29. *M.* 42. 43, 46 ; *Puj.* 28.

30. *M.* 44. 50.

31. *M.* 44. 100.

32. *M.* 46. 24, 31.

33. *M.* 47. 65 : 48. 1, 3, 4 ; *Puj.* 30 ; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

34. *M.* 46. 21.

35. *M.* 48. 25, 64-70 : 49. 47.

36. *M.* 49. 15, 17, 19, 21, 30 : 50. 80.

37. *M.* 49. 47, 76.

38. *M.* 49. 89, 90.

39. *M.* 51. 76.

40. *M.* 52. 31.

41. *E.Z.* I. 228.

42. *E.Z.* III. 143.

43. *M.* 17. 59 : 54. 51 ; *E.H.B.* 16.

44. *M.* 60. 68.

45. *M.* 60. 59.

46. *M.* 79. 28-37.

47. *E.Z.* II. 178.

are mentioned in the Chronicles and inscriptions in reference to these Vihāras:—

- (a) Issarasamaṇa Vihāra:—Pre-Christian inscriptions *in situ* mention Taladara and Taṇacadaka. In a 1st century inscription, Ayibaravika tank is granted to the Vihāra. In inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries, the following place-names occur:—(i) Latakatala; (ii) Abagamiya; (iii) Sahasavarala; (iv) Durusava; and (v) Sakaṇakana. Jetṭhatissa III (628) granted the Vihāra the village Ambilāpika, and Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667) the village Senāmagāma;⁴⁸
- (b) Mahāvihāra:—Buddhadāsa (337-365) granted the Vihāra the village Samaṇagāma, also called Mahanagama. Dāṭhopatissa II (659-667) donated Kasagāma and Puṇṇeli;⁴⁹
- (c) Abhayagiri Vihāra:—Kaniṭṭha Tissa (167-186), in his inscription *in situ*, donated:—(i) Niṭilaviṭṭiya tank; (ii) Kubigamaka tank; (iii) Mahabaṭṭi tank; (iv) Naḷibaviya tank; and (v) Micataki tank. Khuddā Pārinda (434-450) in his inscription mentions:—(i) Acabalana; (ii) Valakaya; and (iii) Kadabanamabara. Mahānāga (569-571) gifted the weavers' village, Jambelambaya. In inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries *in situ* are mentioned:—(i) Gutakadara; (ii) Madararayana; (iii) Eraya; (iv) Lava-arana; and (v) Nadanagamu. Aggabodhi II (604-614) granted Aṅgaṇasālaka village. A 9th century Sanskrit inscription mentions:—(i) Laha-sikā; (ii) Uḷugōṇu; (iii) Hunālā; (iv) Kīrā; (v) Ulavannarīkhaṇṭṭigrāma; (vi) Pallāya; and (vii) Sunagrāma. Kassapa V (914-923) granted Vāligamu;⁵⁰
- (d) Dakkhiṇa Vihāra:—Gajabāhu I (114-136) granted Varukaviya. In the Dakkhiṇa Vihāra tablets of the 2nd century, the following place-names occur:—(i) Lanavilakakaniya; (ii) Kanukaya; (iii) Patagama; (iv) Abayavika; (v) Ravayamala; (vi) Rajaka dam; (vii) Coṇa-aviya; and (viii) Ekahalaka-ati-vavi. In a 7th century inscription, Matakagama is mentioned.⁵¹
- (e) Jetavana Vihāra:—Mahānāga (569-571) donated Vasabhagāma in Uddhagāma. Jetṭhatissa III (628) granted Goṇḍigāma: Upatissa I (365-406) built Goṇḍigāma tank and Mānavamma (684-718) restored it.⁵²

CHAPTER XXIII

UNIDENTIFIED PLACES IN ROHAṆA

Mahānāga, first ruler of Rohaṇa in the latter part of the 3rd century B.C., built the Vihāras named (i) Nuvaraṅguṇu, (ii) Senalena, and (iii) Vilpiṭa.¹

Goṭṭhābhaya, ruler of Rohaṇa early in the 2nd century B.C. built there:—(i) Ogha Vihāra, which may be the same as Selantara-samūhapaśāda; (ii) Goṭṭhābhaya Vihāra; (iii) Kumbhasēla Vihāra; (iv) Tindukalēna Vihāra; (v) Karaṇḍaka-leṇa Vihāra, identical with Karaṇḍaka Mahāleṇa and Karaṇḍakola, near Mahāgāma: the thera Cittagutta lived in the cave which was full of beautiful paintings; (vi) Mattikāleṇa Vihāra in Hatthoṭṭha district: in this district was also Kukkuṭaparvata; and (vii) Ambasēla Vihāra.²

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, who succeeded Goṭṭhābhaya as ruler of Rohaṇa in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., built the following Vihāras:—(i) Kālaka; (ii) Koḷomtissa Galvihāra; (iii) Vilgam: this was the ancient name of present *Sēruvavila* in *Trincomalee* district; (iv) Dukkha-pālaka; (v) Uḍanguṇu; (vi) Koṭitissa; (vii) Kūṭāli or Kuṭṭāli; (viii) Lutherahalpav; (ix) Giriuturuvāra; (x) Niyangam; (xi) Ratkarav; and (xii) Dora.³

Nigrodhasāla or Nugahalkaḍa was the place where Veḷusumana killed Nandāsaraṭṭi.⁴

In Kuḷumbari-kaṇṇikā or Kadaḷumbari was the village Hundaṛivāpi.⁵

Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119) built (i) Kalambaka or Kalumbala or Kalumbara Vihāra, and (ii) Lenamahamāla tank.⁶

Ālindaka Vihāra was the abode of the great thera Mahāphussadeva in the 1st century B.C.⁷

Kapuveṇa Vihāra was probably in Rohaṇa and connected with the Veṇu-nadī.⁸

Kuḍḍarajja or Kuḍḍharajja-danavva was the name of a district and of a Vihāra.⁹

1. *Dhv.* 30.

2. *M.* 57. 38 : 60. 84 ; *Dhv.* 24, 31 ; *E.H.B.* 122, 126.

3. *M.* 22. 23 ; *E.M.* 22. 65 ; *Puj.* 16 ; *Dhv.* 83.

4. *M.T.* 441, 12.

5. *M.* 23. 45 ; *M.T.* 451, 30.

6. *M.* 33. 8 ; *E.M.* 33. 8 ; *Puj.* 18 ; *E.H.B.* App. IB.

7. *E.H.B.* 68, 82, 121, 126, 149.

8. *E.H.B.* 123, App. 1A.

9. *Rsv.* II, 4 ; *Sdhk* 298.

48. *M.* 44. 98 ; 45. 27 ; 48. 25 ; *E.Z.* IV. 133.

49. *M.* 37. 173 : 45. 28 ; *Puj.* 25.

50. *M.* 41. 96 : 42. 63 ; *E.Z.* I. 6, 51, 256 : IV. 141, 256.

51. *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1948, 9.

52. *M.* 37. 186 : 41. 97 : 44. 97 : 48. 9.

Mahānāgatissa Vihāra was repaired by Vohārika Tissa (209-231).¹⁰

Penambaṅgaṇa or Pañhambaṅgaṇa or, probably also, Pennamana, was presumably a place where medicines were distributed.¹¹

Dhātusena (455-473) built the following Vihāras in Rohaṇa:—(i) Dāyagāma; (ii) Sālāvāna: Dappula of Rohaṇa is also credited with this work; and (iii) Vibhāsana. Dhātusena also built Kalam tank.¹²

The following Vihāras in Rohaṇa were built or restored by Dappula, ruler of Rohaṇa in the middle of the 7th century:—(i) Pariveṇa Vihāra; (ii) Ambanālā Vihāra; (iii) Muttolamba, Sirivaḍḍha and Takkambila Pāsādas, probably all in Mahāgāma; (iv) Rāja Vihāra, to which was granted the village Gonnagāma; (v) Kīrola Vihāra; (vi) Berāṅgul or Borāṅgul Vihāra; (vii) Vaḍunnā or Vaḍunna Vihāra: tanks named Vaḍunna and Vaḍunnāva are ascribed to Vasabha and Mahāsena respectively: the Sīgiri Graffiti mention the district Vaḍunnā-bim; (viii) Daḷakasupgiri; (ix) Veheragam; (x) Kevillayagam or Kevillagam; (xi) Veraḷu or Vera; (xii) Hil or Hilpul; (xiii) Mahadiv or Mahadivu; (xiv) Sambōgama; (xv) Vāgama, which may be present Vēgama, near Bibilē; and (xvi) Viḷal Vihāra.¹³

The Sīgiri Graffiti mention (i) Paṇḍulagam, and (ii) Daḷamehombu, both in Rohaṇa.¹⁴

Udaya II (887-898) built Tumberup or Mahatumberuppē Vihāra.¹⁵

In Bolatulā Vihāra in Rohaṇa, Mahinda IV (956-972) installed a gold image.¹⁶

Mahinda V in 991 set up an armed camp at Sīdupabbatagāma in Rohaṇa after his escape from Anurādhapura.¹⁷

Mūlasālā was the place where the prince Kittī (afterwards Vijayabāhu I) dwelt: probably near it was Budalavītthi where his parents were cremated and 5 large dwellings for bhikkhus were erected.¹⁸

Other places mentioned in Rohaṇa are:—(i) Titthavila; (ii) Mapaṭunna, which may be identical with Madanapaṭuna and Pañhamanḍapaṭṭhāna; (iii) Gaṇḍhamula; (iv) Jotirasapāsāna; (v) Sagamdora; and (vi) Koturukaḍu Vihāra in Giripādanavva.¹⁹

10. *M.* 36. 34.

11. *E.H.B.* 61, App. IB.

12. *M.* 38. 49: 45. 45; *Puj.* 28.

13. *M.* 45. 45, 55, 56, 58; *Puj.* 21, 24, 29; *Raj.* 46, 52, 57; *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

14. *Sig. Graff.* I, App. C.

15. *Puj.* 31; *Raj.* 58.

16. *E.Z.* II, 69.

17. *M.* 55. 8.

18. *M.* 57. 44: 60. 57.

19. *Dhv.* 41, 42, 49, 53, 73; *Sdhk* 580, 451; *E.H. B.* IB.

CHAPTER XXIV

UNLOCATED PLACES

The inscriptions, particularly those of the 9th to 12th centuries, contain the village names of the officials who attested the documents, and several of these place-names cannot with certainty be assigned to any one of the three, major territorial divisions. They are:—Ataragalu; Akurālī; Balinotgamu; Diyāvālla; Galukāhāla; Gaṅgulliusu; Goḷuggamu; Guligama; Hakkagam; Hivalā; Kahambalkuḷu; Kahāva; Karāgam; Katiri; Keḷālā; Kiḷindiri; Koḷabā; Kilinggam or Mahakilinggam; Kuburgamu; Mahakubussālu; Mahanavagam; Maṇitilā or Manitalā; Mivugama; Mulavaḍa; Mulavasā; Nilavasā; Nilaya; Nilgonna; Niligalu; Ramukkadu; Sabāvaḍunnā; Sumaṅgalu; Sumaragamu; Taknaru; Tamburugamu; Ukuṇuhusu; and Vaṭrak.¹

The Pāli Commentaries name the following places:—Ambaṅgaṇa: the Sīgiri Graffiti mention Ambagaṇa-vatu; Antarasamuddha Vihāra, existing in the reign king Bhātīya; Bhaggari or Bhaggiri Vihāra; Bhātaragāma; Bhokkantagāma or Bhekkhantagāma, near Kallaka Vihāra; Coriyassara; Devaputta Mahārattṭha; Gavilaṅgaṇa; Kabupelanda; Kālagāma; Kālāhāla Vihāra; Kallavālagāma; Kaṅkanaka; Kārāliyagiri; Kassaka-lena; Kilaṇṇakāsānasāladvāra; Karavīka; Koḷapav Vihāra; Mahākaraṇḍa Vihāra; Mahāmuniḡāma; Mahāpuṇṇagāma; Mālārāma; Maṅkulakārāma; Mūluppalaṅkāpi Vihāra; Nānāmukha and Licchikali: the phrase denoting Laṅkā from end to end is 'from Nānāmukha to Licchikali, from Kalyāṇī to Nāgadīpa: since Kalyāṇī is in the west and Nāgadīpa in the north, the other two places should be east and south; Paheciṅvattu; Puṇṇavālika or Puṇṇavallika; Pūvapaḍḍa; Rājamātu Vihāra; Sākiyavaṁsa Vihāra; Setambaṅgaṇa; Tālavelimagga; Tatthakasāla Pariveṇa, existing in the time of Saddhā Tissa; Valliyavīthi; Vattabakka; and Aṭṭhasaṭṭhila.²

The following place-names which occur in the Sīgiri Graffiti are not found in the literary works or in the inscriptions:—Bagona; Bahilivatugama; Bonuva; Devalagama; Digalavāṇa; Digalu; Dunaturā Nāvehera; Dunuvāgam; Eḷeṇa-kulī; Galagombu;

1. *E.Z.* I, 136; *E.Z.* I, 206; *E.Z.* II, 70; *E.Z.* IV, 252; *E.Z.* IV, 43; *E.Z.* II, 8; *E.Z.* II, 5; *E.Z.* I, 251; *E.Z.* I, 171; *E.Z.* II, 218; *E.Z.* IV, 43; *E.Z.* IV, 208; *E.Z.* III, 277; *E.Z.* II, 43; *E.Z.* I, 251; *E.Z.* I, 175; *E.Z.* III, 269; *E.Z.* III, 105; *E.Z.* II, 56; *E.Z.* III, 269; *E.Z.* I, 251; *E.Z.* II, 25; *E.Z.* II, 234; *E.Z.* II, 5; *E.Z.* IV, 185; *E.Z.* III, 300; *E.Z.* I, 206; *E.Z.* III, 81; *E.Z.* II, 8; *E.Z.* II, 37; *E.Z.* IV, 66; *E.Z.* IV, 54; *E.Z.* II, 218; *E.Z.* I, 161; *E.Z.* III, 269; *E.Z.* II, 32; *E.Z.* III, 81; *E.Z.* II, 48; *E.Z.* III, 191; *E.Z.* III, 269.

2. *E.H.B.* 31, 66, 68, 69, 71, 74, 75, 82, 83, 86, 89, 121, 122, 123, 127, App. IB.

Galakāṭa ; Gatabagiri ; Hedigama ; Jetagala ; Jivitōṭa ; Kaṇāmāgiri ; Kayabura ; Kobala ; Maḷapala ; Mahaviṭi ; Maha Amuṇḍora ; Meyivana ; Miṇiber-pā ; Moḷobā ; Namaḍagama ; Neḷiya ; Nilāḍdal ; Nīlkaḍa ; Padagam ; Paratta ; Pesili ; Pihili ; Rajalā ; Rajanamā ; Rajviṭi ; Ranahala Piriveṇa ; Salagala ; Sammaṇḍu ; Sanlad-kubuva ; Sapugasa-vāliya ; Senpavu ; Serittagama ; Suluva ; Talaboya ; Talapā-piriveṇ ; Tambagola ; Tamuṇḍagam ; Vahagalu Piriveṇ ; Vāvakāṭi ; Vehelnaru Piriveṇ ; Vilatere ; Yahagamu ; Yāṭiligam ; and Yehangiri.³

Kassapa II (650-659) repaired the dwelling of the Mahāthera of Nāgasālā and granted it the village of Mahānitṭhila. Aggabodhi IV (667-683) granted to Nāgasālā Vihāra :—(i) Kaṭandhakara or Andhakāra, also known as Kaṭakandhakāra, Kaṭakanāra, Kaṭakandara, Kālandhakāla and Kālakanda ; (ii) Kevaṭṭtagambhira ; (iii) Bharattāla ; (iv) Kihimbila ; (v) Kaṭaka ; (vi) Andhanāraka ; (vii) Antureḷi ; (viii) Bālava (ix) Dvāranāyaka ; (x) Peḷahāla ; and (xi) Mahānikkaḍḍhika. The same king built the Aggabodhi Practising House in Nāgasālā Vihāra.⁴

3. Sig. Graff., I, App. C.

4. M. 44. 151: 45. 3, 58: 46. 6-b, 12, 13 ; E.H.B. 68 ; U.C.R. I, 90.

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